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Contested green spaces on the early modern stage, 1590--1634

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**Contested green spaces on the early modern stage,
1590-1634**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**Philippe Roesle
King's College London**

2013

Abstract

This thesis analyses the production of contested green space on the early modern stage. I argue that Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights staged subjective versions of green space which responded differently to cultural and political unease. Collectively, early modern dramatists produced a sedimented English countryside whose layers addressed dissonant interpretations of contemporary ideological struggles and debates. Representations of green space on the early modern stage negotiate both the political *status quo* and its alternatives; the stage represented the countryside in ways which both the court and those beyond hegemony wanted it to look like. In order to discuss fully the multivocal dimensions of green space, I offer a topological reading of spatial representation on the early modern stage. Contrary to the usual topographical analyses performed by critics of early modern drama, my topological reading focuses on spatial interrelation, configuration and complexity, registering multiplicities and contradictions within the social production of specifically homeomorphic green spaces.

Across the four chapters, I discuss the negotiation of a specific element of contemporary discourse in a distinctly contested theatrical green space. I demonstrate in Chapter One how theatres imagined Robin Hood's northern greenwood as both Protestant and residually Catholic. In Chapter Two, I interrogate the ways in which playwrights debated the benefits and dangers of agricultural innovation in rural England. In Chapter Three, I argue that Arcadian green spaces represented both a monarchic and an alternative Spenserian ideal. Lastly, in Chapter Four, I analyse how early modern drama complicated understandings of English nationhood by producing contested Welsh green space as both civil and barbaric. The stages' collective output produced contested green spaces which dramatists layered with models *of* and models *for* reality, simultaneously containing and exploring the period's discursive concerns over religion, consumption, royal succession and nationhood. Representations of green space on the early modern stage performed specific, if contradictory, conflicting and heterogeneous functions. The theatres' production of contested green space negotiated the tensions and competing positions within Elizabethan and Jacobean socio-political debates.

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Note on texts

In this thesis I use the best recent editions of plays where they exist and modern spelling wherever possible. Where no adequately recent and scholarly modern spelling edition exists, I use the earliest text of each play, unless stated otherwise. When quoting from Shakespeare, I use the most recent Arden Shakespeare series, except in Chapter Four, where I rely on the Oxford Shakespeare edition of *Cymbeline* because of its more recent publication date. I retain original spelling and punctuation when quoting from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, both in the body of the text, in the footnotes and in the bibliography. However, I replace the long 's' and substitute 'w' for double 'v' throughout. In the body of the thesis and in footnotes I use an abbreviated version of the full title of a text, but retain the original spelling. I reserve the full title for the bibliography. For modern secondary sources, I use the title capitalisation as given by the British Library Cataloguing information where possible. I give the Harbage limits for date of first performance in brackets after each play is named for the first time.

INTRODUCTION

CONTESTED GREEN SPACES ON THE EARLY MODERN STAGE

In 1617, following the only royal progress he made to Scotland as King of England, James I travelled back to London via Lancashire.¹ The countryside he encountered far from met his expectations. Instead of a uniformly obedient, pastoral and religiously orthodox green space, James notes with concern that the '[c]ountrey is much infested' with sectarianism (A3v).² Recusant Catholics and Puritans alike had banned physical recreations and traditional pastimes on the Sabbath under their parochial authority. James was anxious that Lancashire, and by extension rural England as a whole, might be operating outside his jurisdiction: 'Our reputation might vpon the one side (though innocently) haue some aspersion layd vpon it, and that vpon the other part Our good people in that Countrey bee misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of Our meaning' (A3v). Not only have legal affairs been reinterpreted locally, but the king feared too that, due to an excessive and sectarian focus on spiritual matters, the countryside was going to rack and ruin, and would fail to yield both the agricultural commodities and the loyal subjects on which the nation depended. Thus James observes that Lancashire no longer provides 'bodies more able for Warre, when Wee or Our Successors shall haue occasion to vse them' (A4v).

The tangible product of James' journey through the northern countryside was an edict which has become known as *The Book of Sports* (1618). This edict sought to eliminate religious, political and economic opposition to James' rule. The text overwrote the countryside with the court's pastoralised and Protestant ideology, a vision where 'loyal inhabitants cultivated the land and their holiday pastimes with equal energy'.³ Accordingly, James decreed that

Our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawfull Recreation; Such as dauncing, either men or women, Archerie for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless Recreation, nor

¹ William A. McNeill and Peter G.B. McNeill, 'The Scottish progress of James VI, 1617', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 75.199, part 1 (1996), pp. 38-51.

² *The Kings Maiesties Declaration to His Subjects* (London: 1618).

³ Leah S. Marcus, 'Politics and pastoral: writing the court on the countryside', in *Culture and politics in early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 139-159 (p. 140).

from hauing of May-Games, Whitson Ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of May-poles and other sports therewith vsed. (B2v)

The declaration represents an ecclesiastical policy to disarm peripheral sectarianism and to overwrite signs of social and geographical alienation. Leah Marcus, in her seminal work on the subject, argues that the text was ratified to 'erase the mark of otherness'.⁴ Indeed, *The Book of Sports* strove to homogenise rural England with the court's ideal. 'What the Stewart kings were advocating', Marcus argues, 'was a reification of pastoral vision – the export of a courtly mode to the countryside in a way that imprinted royal power on the rural landscape.'⁵ *The Book of Sports* re-imagines the countryside as a reflection of the court and of Jacobean ideology. The text describes rural Lancashire as a distinctly pastoral space, that is, as a space which captures, as Marcus suggests, a particularly idealised, courtly, and nostalgic understanding of what the English countryside could and should represent. The pastoral space described in James' decree replaces any traces of difference and heterogeneity, any signs of Catholic or Puritan sectarianism, with a uniformly perfect pastoral space characterised by official Protestantism and monarchic rule.

Nevertheless, *The Book of Sports* works between the binaries of real and ideal, between the sectarian countryside James encountered in 1617 and the traditional, Protestant pastoral space the edict imposed in 1618. The text imagines an idealised pastoral and Protestant space, but in doing so it necessarily, if implicitly, acknowledges that parts of the countryside had become sectarian and that the government's authority in those places was partly, and unofficially, devolved. By acknowledging the fissures within Jacobean ideology, the undesired counter-spaces in the peripheries, the edict produces a paradoxical imagining of England's countryside. Andreas Roepstorff and Nils Bubandt note that the act of imagining nature does not merely present an external world, but 'also implies an attempt to render an idea real by making it the model for future action.'⁶ Clifford Geertz has demonstrated how the term 'model' has two senses – 'an "of" sense and

⁴ Leah S. Marcus, *The politics of mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvel, and the defense of old holiday pastimes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 19.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Andreas Roepstorff and Nils Bubandt, 'The critique of culture and the plurality of nature', in *Imagining nature: practices of cosmology and identity*, ed. by Andreas Roepstorff, Nils Bubandt, and Kalevi Kull (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), pp. 9-30 (p. 15).

a “for” sense’.⁷ In other words, the imagining of rural England in *The Book of Sports* includes both a model *of* reality and a model *for* the future. Rural Lancashire is described as simultaneously Catholic and Protestant, ideologically subversive and obedient; the description of rural England emerges as a layered fusion of opposites. Instead of promoting the desired homogenisation of rural England, *The Book of Sports* involuntarily destabilises the imagining of the English countryside by folding the real and the ideal into one contested green space.

Marcus shows the centrality of Jacobean theatre to the ideological struggle for control of rural space in Jacobean England. In this thesis I extend and develop her work by analysing the production of contested green space on the early modern stage. I demonstrate how Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights staged subjective versions of green space which responded differently to cultural and political unease. Collectively, these dramatists produced a sedimented English countryside whose layers addressed dissonant interpretations of contemporary ideological struggles and debates. Representations of green space on the early modern stage negotiate both the *status quo* and its alternatives; the stage represented the countryside both as the court wanted it to look like and as those beyond hegemony wanted it to look like. I argue that early modern theatres were significant *loci* for the imaginative production of green space - not as a homogeneous, idealised and pastoral scene, but as layered, dissonant and politicised spaces. Kenneth Olwig has analysed the political dimension of natural landscapes in early modern England. He argues that the countryside is ‘imbued with meanings, etched by custom in the land, that were at the heart of the major political, legal, and cultural issues of the time.’⁸ However, where Olwig claims that early modern politics were firmly ‘etched into the land’, I wish to suggest that the representation of green space was more contested than he suggests. Taking the continuous re-working of green space as my case study, I suggest that theatrical representations of green space both invoked broader ideological contexts and

⁷ Clifford Geertz, ‘Religion as a cultural system’, in *The interpretation of cultures: selected essays* (London: Basic Books, 1973; repr. Fontana Press, 1993), pp. 87-125 (p. 93).

⁸ Kenneth Robert Olwig, ‘Recovering the substantive nature of landscape’, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 86.4 (1996), pp. 630-653 (p. 635). Under James’ reign, the countryside increasingly became a political construct. Olwig traces this development through the emerging popularity of the court masque and the growing influence of ascetics imported from Italy by Inigo Jones. Kenneth Robert Olwig, *Landscape, nature, and the body politic: from Britain’s Renaissance world to America’s New World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), pp. 1-40.

debates and, at times, interrogated hegemonic space in marked ways. The stage's collective output produced contested green spaces which dramatists layered with models of and models for reality, simultaneously containing and exploring the period's discursive concerns over religion, consumption, royal succession and nationhood. Representations of green space on the early modern stage performed specific, if contradictory, conflicting and heterogeneous functions. The theatres' production of contested green space negotiated the tensions and competing positions that characterised Elizabethan and Jacobean socio-political debates.

I wish, at the outset, to clarify my particular theoretical perspective on this contested critical ground. In this introduction, I seek to diverge from the primary current thrust of readings of early modern theatre that focus on the representation and deployment of space and the environment. I argue that critics of early modern drama should resist focusing solely on homogeneous and *topographical* aspects of space – that is, the writing and visual representation of space. Instead, I suggest that a concentration on *topological* dimensions better reveals the sedimented meanings green space accumulated on the early modern stage. While topography focuses on describing one place with detail and accuracy, topology analyses the relationship between interrelated versions of space. Topological readings, I suggest, bring to light far more clearly than do topographical analyses the inherent contradictions and competitions in early modern drama's artistic representation of the English countryside.

In order to develop a topological reading of green space in early modern drama, I will now offer a critical survey addressing the 'spatial turn' and the effects it had on ecocriticism and cultural geography, two interconnected critical approaches whose analyses of literary representations of space have developed substantially over the last twenty years. For the sake of clarity, I will address these strands of criticism separately, although they both overlap and 'are linked by a shared imperative to respond to the spatial turn in the humanities and to take space seriously as [a] category of analysis or methodological approach.'⁹ Much has been written on the subject of green space and the early modern stage; accordingly, this survey focuses in particular on research which has explored either the conjunctions of nature and politics or the politics of representing green

⁹ Sarah Dustagheer, 'Shakespeare and the "spatial turn"', *Literature Compass*, 10/7 (2013), pp. 570-581 (p. 570).

space. Section One addresses the theoretical backdrop for my argument in this thesis. While the spatial turn has encouraged critical attention to literature's role in the social, cultural and mental production of space, a topological emphasis, I will argue, can supplement and develop this work and increase critical understanding of the ways in which early modern theatre companies produced layered and interrelated versions of green spaces on their stages. In Section Two, I turn to ecocriticism and demonstrate, first of all, the tendency of critics in this field to discuss the environment as a stable representation of a utopian ideal and, secondly, the impact of recent developments in the field in encouraging ecocritics to focus on the subjective dimension of nature in literature and drama. Developing the multivocal potential of literary green spaces, in Section Three I demonstrate that, though for geographers representations of space develop different social and political meanings simultaneously, critics of early modern drama have yet to analyse how specific theatrical spaces consolidate multiple, even contradictory, versions of political space. In this thesis I work towards filling that gap by looking at how green spaces were layered with irreconcilable sets of meaning on the early modern stage. While the majority of early modern critics concentrate on named and mapped places, my interest in this thesis differs from this tendency: in Section Four I define the kinds of green space I will address throughout the thesis. In effect, early modern society considered vast parts of the countryside to be empty. On the early modern stage, imaginary, mythical and folkloric personae populate these supposedly empty green spaces. These inhabitants' theatrical meaning and signification was largely fluid, unstable and subject to the playwrights' individual modifications. These seemingly empty spaces and their folkloric population offer themselves up for a topological analysis which concentrates on the abstract structural elements of space and how they relate to other abstract versions of the same representational space. Within specific discursive contexts, the stage presence of folkloric creatures and personifications invests theatrical green spaces with irreconcilable sets of meaning – meanings which simultaneously asserted and interrogated the dominant politics of Elizabethan and Jacobean England. Taken together, these four sections serve to express and develop my overall argument that the early modern stage produced contested green spaces which, rather than emerging as the products of a holistic approach to unresolved political debates, were in fact layered with multivocal re-writings and re-imaginings, offering

audiences multiple evaluations of some of early modern England's most urgent cultural and political concerns.

I. THE 'SPATIAL TURN' AND AN EARLY MODERN TOPOLOGY OF SPACE

In this section, I will lay out the theoretical basis for my subsequent analysis of green space on the early modern stage. Writing in the wake of the so-called 'spatial turn', early modern literary critics have increasingly turned their interest to the dialogic relationship between space, culture and society, and to the role literature and drama played in the social production of space. Accordingly, Julie Sanders argues that the stage was 'one of the key means by which early modern society strove to make sense of space'.¹⁰ The spatial turn paved the way for a vast amount of early modern criticism which analyses drama's role in the social production of space, and I will address these texts in the second and third sections of this critical survey. Indeed, as Sarah Dustagheer argues, '[i]n response to the spatial turn, scholarship over the last 20 years has established the key social spaces and spatial practices of early modern society and has demonstrated that the playhouse was a site for the examination and negotiation of those spaces and practices.'¹¹ However, I wish to argue that the spatial turn has not yet been exploited to its utmost by criticism of early modern drama. While critics writing under the spatial turn analyse how societies produce and negotiate space, topology expands that insight in order to discuss how cultures invest multiple, interrelated and layered meanings into any given space. Topology focuses on spatial interrelation, configuration and complexity, registering multiplicities and contradictions within the social production of a specific space.¹² Consequently, a topological analysis

¹⁰ Julie Sanders, *The cultural geography of early modern drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 9. Gillies and Lemke Sanford have similarly argued that theatres displayed a sophisticated geographical consciousness. John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the geography of difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 54; Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and memory in early modern England: sense of place* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 17. West argues that Jacobean drama, 'an ostentatiously spatial art-form', explored the society's spatial tensions between mobile and static social structures. Russell West, *Spatial representations and the Jacobean stage: from Shakespeare to Webster* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 3. See also Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance stage: geometry, poetics and the practical spatial arts 1580-1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 16-33.

¹¹ Dustagheer, p. 578.

¹² Stephan Günzel, 'Spatial turn – topographical turn – topological turn: über die Unterschiede zwischen Raumparadigmen', in *Spatial Turn: das Raumparadigma in den*

supplements the spatial turn's topographical focus as it not only looks at the holistic social and cultural meanings literary spaces acquired, but also the manner in which spaces frequently address multiple meanings, that is, the extent to which they negotiate oppositional and contradicting ideologies within the same spatial representation. The spatial turn is crucial for understanding how literary works produce and negotiate social space. However, I wish to suggest that a recalibration of the spatial turn's analysis of the production of space towards a discussion of the topological layering of multiple and contradictory space significantly expands our understanding of the sets of socio-political meaning which early modern theatres negotiated collectively through their representations of contested green spaces.

'In the nineteenth century', as Barney Warf and Santa Arias note, 'space became steadily subordinated to time in modern consciousness, a phenomenon that reflected the enormous time-space compression of the industrial revolution; this phenomenon was manifested through the lens of historicism, a despatialized consciousness in which geography figured weakly or not at all'.¹³ Nevertheless, spatiality and geography gained critical attention in the humanities in France in the 1960s when Michel Foucault predicted that '[t]he present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed.'¹⁴ French spatial theory only arrived in mainstream Anglo-Saxon criticism in the late 1980s, when David Harvey discussed the formation and growth of capitalism through an evaluation of space and, together with Edward Soja, an urban geographer, triggered what has become known as the 'spatial turn' in the humanities and social studies. The spatial turn, Soja argued, 'promises to facilitate a restructuring and rethinking on how social progress shapes geographical spaces, and conversely, geographies' impact on social progress and action.' It is an interdisciplinary movement which encourages a 'rethinking of the

Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften, ed. by Jörg Döring and Tristan Thielmann (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008), pp. 219-237 (p. 220).

¹³ Barney Warf and Santa Arias, 'Introduction: the reinsertion of space in the humanities and social studies', in *The spatial turn: interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. by Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1-10 (p. 2); Edward Soja, 'Postmodern geographies and the critique of historicism', in *Postmodern contentions: epochs, politics, space*, ed. by John Paul Jones III, Wolfgang Natter, and Theodore R. Schatzki (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), pp. 113-136.

¹⁴ Michel Foucault, 'Of other spaces', trans. by Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16.1 (1986), pp. 22-27 (p. 22).

ontological, epistemological and theoretical relations between space and time'.¹⁵ Indeed, under the spatial turn geography gained importance in the humanities not just because space is the container of social change and action, but also because it is a crucial component enabling and shaping human interaction. For example, Harvey argues that "[d]ifference" and "otherness" is *produced* in space through the simple logic of uneven capital investment and a proliferating geographical division of labour.¹⁶ Crucially, Harvey and Soja rely on Lefebvre's key contribution to the world of urban studies, namely that space is not merely a given, but a social product, and as such a fluid and malleable entity. Users of space produce a social, cultural and mental construct whose applications reveal insight into a particular society at a particular moment in time.¹⁷ Lefebvre's work on the social production of space and its role in the operations and growth of capitalism was re-evaluated under the spatial turn and had a sustainable impact on how the humanities analysed literature's role in the social production of space.

According to Lefebvre, space is neither pre-existing, passive, or static, nor do societies lack agency in producing it. On the contrary, society produces its environment and, conversely, space affects society. '(Social) space is a (social) product', Lefebvre famously wrote in *The production of space* (1974, trans. 1991).¹⁸ Therefore, space is conceived dialogically; it determines history, but is also historically determined. At any given moment, any space is the product and result of cultural practices which continuously shape and re-signify it. Space is the 'outcome of a process with many contributing currents' and literature, as Pamela Gilbert argues, is an important current contributing to its production: 'literature', she argues, 'shapes the understanding of space[;][...] it intervenes in culture to

¹⁵ Edward W. Soja, 'Talking space personally', in *The spatial turn: interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. by Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 11-36 (pp. 18, 22).

¹⁶ David Harvey, 'From space to place and back again: reflections on the condition of postmodernity', in *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*, ed. by John Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putham, George Robertson, and Lisa Tickner (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 3-30 (p. 6). See also Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory* (London: Verso, 1989); Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

¹⁷ Dustagheer, p. 570.

¹⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 26.

produce new understandings.’¹⁹ Literature’s role in the production of social space is twofold; it affects our perception of how space changes and it contributes to the formation of socially produced and re-signified space.

In a key passage for the development of my topological analysis of early modern drama, Lefebvre describes the social production of space as contested and heterogeneous, even Janus-faced. Space, he suggests, is diverse and its structure is all but homogeneous; instead, Lefebvre compares the structure of socially produced space to the layered texture of ‘*mille-feuille* pastry’.²⁰ Space is the result of multiple synchronous cultural and social currents. It simultaneously expresses existing hegemonic powers and represents the potential for challenging those dominant structures. In *De l’état* (1978), Lefebvre explores a government’s role in the production of social space, emphasising its unstable and unresolved qualities.

[S]pace [is] organized in such a way that, unless they revolt, ‘users’ are reduced to passivity and silence. Their revolt can and must start from the presentation of counter-projects, of counter-spaces, leading sometimes to violent protests, and culminating in a radical revolt[.]²¹

Lefebvre likens the social production of space to the politics of revolt. Space is heterogeneous and consists of irreconcilable elements; it is the medium through which societies produce counter-projects which explore, test and limit hegemonic space. Central spatial producers – in Lefebvre’s example, the state or the city – aim to make national space ‘appear homogeneous, the *same* throughout’.²² However, spatial production resists homogenisation and ‘this creates the paradox of a space that is both homogeneous and broken [*l’espace homogène-brisé*].’²³ While space may appear unified on the surface, in reality it is composed of heterogeneous counter-spaces which are subject to synchronous and ongoing remodelling.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 110; Pamela K. Gilbert, ‘Sex and the modern city: English studies and the spatial turn’, in *The spatial turn: interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. by Barney Warf and Santa Arias (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 102-122 (p. 105).

²⁰ Ibid., p. 86.

²¹ Henri Lefebvre, ‘Space and the state’, in *State/space: a reader*, ed. by Neil Brenner, Bob Jessop, Martin Jones, and Gordon MacLeod (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 84-101 (p. 88); Henri Lefebvre, ‘L’espace et l’état’, in *De l’état IV: les contradictions de l’état moderne* (Paris: Union General d’Éditions, 1978), pp. 259-324. For more context on Lefebvre and the political dimension of his analysis, see Neil, Brenner, ‘Henri Lefebvre’s critique of state productivism’, in *Space, difference, everyday life: reading Henri Lefebvre*, ed. by Kanishkha Goonewaedena, Stefan Kipfer, Richard Milgrom, and Christian Schmid (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 231-249 (pp. 237-238); Stewart Elden, *Understanding Lefebvre: theory and the possible* (London: Continuum, 2004), p. 130.

²² Ibid., p. 86.

²³ Ibid.

Expanding on Lefebvre's argument that space is a fundamentally contested social product, Michel de Certeau's *The practice of everyday life* (1980, trans. 1984) distinguishes between two different ways of practising, that is using and consuming, space. On the one hand, space is constructed and functionalised; it is a hegemonic cultural grid that proscribes and orders the bodies and movements of a society. On the other hand, space simultaneously belongs to 'the other'; it is where bodies and movements resist and challenge 'nets of "discipline"'. Pushed to their ideal limits, these procedures and ruses of [spatial] consumers compose the network of antidiscipline.²⁴ These counter-spaces insinuate themselves into the grid fragmentarily, without taking it over completely; they reject hegemony and invert the space of the grid. Therefore, the interests and desires of central and peripheral spatial users collide and overlap in the production of social space. As a result, space is continuously and synchronically revised and contested; societies produce uneven and heterogeneous spaces which encompass both dominant and oppositional places. Space is dissonant and heterogeneous; not unlike a topology of space, according to de Certeau, space captures a plethora of conflicting voices, movements, desires and ideologies which contribute to its layered social formation.²⁵ Both Lefebvre and de Certeau describe the production of space as the platform where interests and peripheral ideas clash – space is part of a heterogeneous formation, and the early modern stage, I argue, produces green space as unreconciled, that is, as both conforming to and resisting hegemonic expectations. Foucault summarised the contested nature of space when he wrote that counter-spaces 'are a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within a culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.'²⁶ In this thesis, I investigate the manner in which the theatrical imagination of early modern green space created layered (counter-)spaces which simultaneously 'represented, contested, and inverted' elements of Elizabethan and Jacobean culture.²⁷ The work of Lefebvre, de Certeau

²⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. xiv-xv, xix.

²⁵ Roland Lippuner, 'Sozialer Raum und Praktiken: Elemente sozialwissenschaftlicher Topologie bei Pierre Bourdieu und Michel de Certeau', in *Topologie: zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften*, ed. by Stephan Günzel (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), pp. 265-277 (p. 274).

²⁶ Foucault, p. 24.

²⁷ The representation of the city has attracted substantial critical attention under the spatial turn. For recent discussions of the role early modern drama played in the social

and Foucault promoted the spatial turn in the humanities. As my discussion of key sections of their work demonstrates, these scholars regard the production of space as inherently contradictory and layered. Within socially produced space, conflicting meanings exist simultaneously and antagonistically, and this emphasis, in turn, recently paved the way for a topological analysis of space in literature and drama.

Encouraging a shift from topography to topology in early modern studies, Ina Habermann notes that

[r]ecent theories of space have shifted the perspective away from space as expansive or container to topology as a particular way of thinking about spatial constellations. This also implies a shift away from topography, mapping and the landscape paradigm to a more abstract notion of space which is yet conducive to a more thorough understanding of the spatial basis and cultural exchange.²⁸

Topology enables the study of continuity and connectivity within abstract space. It explores and describes spatial equivalence within difference, continuities and discontinuities, structural analogies and abstractions from physical space.²⁹ Topology addresses transformations, the ways in which space is inverted (*'umstülpen'*) into its opposites.³⁰ An example of the way in which topologists view objects and spaces is the 'mug-and-torus-morph', a computer animation which transforms a mug into a doughnut-shaped object. The animation shifts material from the container-element to the handle to increase the latter's volume. The hole between handle and container is retained while material is moved so as to form an even ring. Mug and torus are different objects but nevertheless homeomorphic, that is, topologically equivalent as the one can be transformed into the other

production of London's changing definitions and shifting boundaries, see Janette Dillon, *Theatre, court and city, 1595-1610: drama and social space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Jean E. Howard, *Theater of a city: the place of London comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Adam Zucker, *The places of wit in early modern English comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

²⁸ Ina Habermann, "'I shall have share in this most happy wreck': Shakespeare's topology of shipwrecking", *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 148 (2012), pp. 55-72 (p. 56).

²⁹ Wolfram Pilcher, "Topologische Konfigurationen des Denkens and der Kunst", in *Falten, Knoten, Netze, Stülpungen: topologische Phantasien in Kunst und Theorie*, ed. by Wolfram Pilcher und Ralph Ubl (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2009), pp. 13-66 (p. 23). See also Edward S. Casey, *The fate of place: a philosophical history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 286-287.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

without any ‘cutting or gluing.’³¹ Jacques Lacan argued that the torus and the mug are not simply equivalents, but that they constitute their own reality.³² A topology of space accepts that any representation of space also includes its homeomorphic variants.³³ Accordingly, space need not be exclusively discussed as a topographical unit, but as consisting of abstract structural elements which interact, reject, and morph with each other.³⁴ Topology is a conceptual way of thinking about spatial constellations. It enables ‘more adequate descriptions of cultural phenomena by highlighting the connection between categorically different and yet interrelated elements [...] by conceiving of them as aspects of multiple, dynamic spaces.’³⁵

Vittoria Borsò argues that literature in particular plays a key role in the negotiation of spatial simultaneity. Texts, she argues, best capture the paradoxes of multiple space.³⁶ Likewise, in an early modern context, D. J. Hopkins argues that ‘[t]he word “theatre” in this period was not exclusively applied to purpose-built structures used for public performance [but] was used in a general way to describe any “container” for things one might want to look at.’³⁷ In these terms, London’s theatres were ‘containers’ for examining spaces potentially far away. And yet, as Hopkins acknowledges, the spaces theatres produced were rarely homogeneous. ‘[T]he structures by which space itself had been perceived, used, and understood for centuries were changing’, and as a result the spaces displayed in the theatrical containers were characterised by irreconcilability and ‘spatial hybridity’.³⁸ In this thesis, I analyse a range of early modern plays and entertainments which dramatise multiply-layered and sedimented green spaces. Early modern drama produced green spaces with numerous cultural and political resonances which

³¹ Habermann, p. 56.

³² Jacques Lacan, ‘Of structure as an inmixing of an otherness prerequisite to any subject whatsoever’, in *The structuralist controversy: the languages of criticism and the sciences of man*, ed. by Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 186-200 (p. 196).

³³ Stephan Günzel, ‘Raum – Topographie – Topologie’, in *Topologie: zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften*, ed. by Stephan Günzel (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), pp. 13-29 (p. 22).

³⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁵ Habermann, p. 57.

³⁶ Vittoria Borsò, ‘Topologie als literaturwissenschaftliche Methode: die Schrift des Raums und der Raum der Schrift’, in *Topologie: zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften*, ed. by Stephan Günzel (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007), pp. 279-295 (pp. 282-283).

³⁷ D.J. Hopkins, *City/stage/globe: performance and space in Shakespeare’s London* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 52.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

clashed, overlapped and tested each other on stage. Thus I analyse early modern plays, in Habermann's words, not 'in terms of a map, a chart, a tapestry or a textual palimpsest but [...] as an interface, a topological point of connection, which opens up a multiplicity of dynamic spaces. [Topology] allows for simultaneity, for the simultaneous presence of multiple resonances which produce [early modern drama's] "complexity".'³⁹ Accordingly, Habermann argues that analyses of the physical representation of space 'should be supplemented by topology as a conceptual way of thinking about cultural constellations.'⁴⁰ A topological analysis of space enables me fully to articulate the contested nature of theatrical green space and evaluate the contradictory sets of meaning expressed through the conflicting layers by way of which playwrights created theatrical green spaces. Early modern drama's collective production of contested green space was constructed as a series of subjective layers which engaged with contemporary political unease. I suggest that a topological analysis is a conceptual means to peel back the multiple, even irreconcilable, political and cultural meanings of the green spaces represented on the early modern stage.

Theatrical representations of green space are multiple, then, and, I argue, its layers are shot through with the tensions and ambivalences of historical change and ideological conflict. To return to my opening example, *The Book of Sports* works to manipulate Lancashire's green counter-space into its homeomorphic opposite. The text ignores any topographical elements in its description of the countryside, focusing instead on cultural constellations which both assert and contest normative Jacobean politics. On the one hand, James makes an effort to overwrite the territory according to his political vision or, in de Certeau's vocabulary, to impose a centralising grid upon Lancashire which pre-empts peripheral sectarianism. On the other hand, by banning sports and distancing itself from the court Lancashire's bodies quite literally resist Protestant uniformity, creating instead an independent and sectarian counter-space in the distant north. Inadvertently and unavoidably, the edict produces a contested countryside with conflicting political layers and resonances; Lancashire's green space is both Catholic and Protestant, peripherally subversive and homogeneously obedient. Peeling through the ideological layers of rural England's representations on stage, I

³⁹ Habermann, p. 68.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

argue that similar dialogic constellations and debates inform many dramatic representations of the countryside. In the four chapters of this thesis, I demonstrate how early modern playwrights staged specific types of green spaces as simultaneously Catholic and Protestant, exploitable and consuming, utopian and dystopian, peripheral and centralised, ideologically conforming and inherently subversive. Multiple ideological *imaginings* of green space resulted in a collectively contested *production* of the countryside on the early modern stage. The dissonant layers of these representations are the result of subjective imaginings of theatrical green space which, in turn, yield insight into the scope of political contestation and debate circulating in early modern England's literary and political culture. In the following two sections of this critical survey, I turn my attention to the ways in which scholars of early modern drama have discussed the theatrical representation of green space in the wake of the spatial turn. These critics have produced an absorbing range of work on the theatres' relation to early modern nature, revealing how the representation of green space negotiates contemporary politics on stage. However, I argue that the majority of critics discuss green space as addressing a holistic element of Elizabethan and Jacobean discourse, neglecting any layers or interrelated homeomorphic variants in the period's theatrical production of contested English green space.

II. ECOCRITICISM AND IDEALISED GREEN SPACES

Shakespearean critics tend to limit their interpretations of theatrical green space to homogeneous or diachronic meanings. For example, when critics write of the 'Shakespearean forest', the most frequent rural *locus* in the canon, they tend to assume a stable and homogeneous space. Take, for instance, William Hazlitt, whose discussion of *As You Like It* in *Characters in Shakespear's plays* (1817) described the Forest of Arden as an ideal Arcadia and contrasted it with the depravity of city life.⁴¹ Hazlitt's argument proved tenacious, as several critics have followed his lead. Harold Brooks' introduction to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1596) in 1979 comments on the realism and 'irresistible impression of rural beauty' in the

⁴¹ William Hazlitt, *Characters in Shakespear's plays*, 2nd edn (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), p. 305.

depiction of the Forest of Athens.⁴² Likewise, Vin Nardizzi's essay 'Shakespeare's Globe and England's woods' (2011) illustrates how the Globe theatre's wooden architecture offered audiences an imaginary movement back to an original and pure woodland ecology.⁴³ In contrast to critics who describe the Shakespearean forest as a refuge from urban plight and pollution, Richard Marienstras discusses the forest as the site where 'wildness is unleashed outside the city; it is an imaginary space where natural and civilised laws are suspended, transgressed or set aside.'⁴⁴ Jeanne Addison Roberts argues that the Shakespearean forest represents 'whatever is not encompassed by the central male vision of Culture'.⁴⁵ Shakespeare's forest scenes, she argues, allegorise how male characters tame and absorb a female wildness. Shakespearean critics have teased out the contradictory scope of signification of the forest's theatrical representation. But instead of discussing the connections between these homeomorphic versions of the same forest space, critics tend to discuss the Shakespearean forest as representing either beauty or danger. In a similar manner, recent ecocritical work tends to discuss theatrical green spaces as representations of a stable and pure ecological ideal.

Prior to the emergence of ecocriticism as a fully-fledged mode of literary critique in the 1990s, scholars discussed early modern theatre's natural environment primarily as representations of nostalgic perfection. The origins of the ecocritical assumption that literary nature is a homogeneous utopian space lie in discussions of literary green space by Leo Marx, Raymond William and James Turner in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁶ In his classic study *The machine in the garden* (1964), Marx focuses on moments when a metaphorical machine interrupts a pastoral idyll. In *The Tempest* (1611), for instance, Marx argues that Prospero 'eliminated or controlled many unpleasant, ugly features of primal nature.'⁴⁷ For Marx, the island evokes a fading ideal of purity, exploring humanity's paradoxical

⁴² Harold F. Brooks, 'Introduction', in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, The Arden Shakespeare Second Series (London: Methuen, 1979), pp. xxi-cxliii (p. cxxvi).

⁴³ Vin Nardizzi, 'Shakespeare's Globe and England's woods', *Shakespeare Studies*, 39 (2011), pp. 54-63 (p. 57).

⁴⁴ Richard Marienstras, *New perspectives on the Shakespearean world*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 34-36.

⁴⁵ Jeanne Addison Roberts, *The Shakespearean wild: geography, genus, and gender* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 23.

⁴⁶ See Karen L. Raber, 'Recent ecocritical studies of English Renaissance literature', *English Literary Renaissance*, 37.1 (2007), pp. 151-171 (pp. 153, 158).

⁴⁷ Leo Marx, *The machine in the garden: technology and the pastoral ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 53.

commitments both to a pastoral dream and to 'productivity, wealth, and power.'⁴⁸ Similarly, Williams' seminal *The country and the city* (1973) argues that the pastoral genre is characterised by nostalgia. Literary representations of the country, Williams demonstrates, reflect on social and economic changes associated with the emergence of capitalism. Yet, Williams also demonstrates how the understanding of what constitutes a nostalgic pastoral ideal is fluid and continuously re-defined, depending on the historical context. Pastoral texts take readers back into idealised bygone eras, which 'mean different things at different times, and quite different values are being brought into question.'⁴⁹ Marx and Williams argue that literary representations of green space provide writers with an opportunity to examine lost ideals, offering their readers or audiences imaginary escape valves. Likewise, Turner's *The politics of landscape* (1979) argues that early modern English poetry 'produced something fundamentally different' in response to the bloodshed of the Civil War: 'When reality is permeated by violence, "nature" is asked to oppose, to criticise and, if possible, to replace it. The countryside is imagined as a "strong retreat."⁵⁰ It represents 'an idyll and a model, an escape and a solution'.⁵¹ In the 1960s and 1970s, the prevalent understanding of early modern literature's engagement with green space was not so different from Hazlitt's notion of an ideal Arcadia. According to Marx, Turner and Williams, early modern writers portrayed nature as a nostalgic retreat, one that was backwards oriented, stable in its signification of perfection and deliberately disengaged from actual politics or current affairs.

Since its official inception in Cheryll Glotfelty's and Harold Fromm's *The ecocriticism reader* (1996), ecocriticism has promoted 'the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment' and the ways in which 'human nature is connected with the physical world, affecting and affected by it.'⁵² Not unlike feminism and Marxism, ecocriticism is first and foremost a political movement. By way of revisiting canonised literary texts with an ecological agenda, ecocriticism seeks to raise awareness for twentieth- and twenty-first-

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 226.

⁴⁹ Raymond Williams, *The country and the city* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1973), p. 12.

⁵⁰ James Turner, *The politics of landscape: rural scenery and society in English poetry, 1630-1660* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), pp. 2, 7.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 36

⁵² Cheryll Glotfelty, 'Introduction: literary studies in an age of environmental crisis', in *The ecocriticism reader: landmarks in literary ecology*, ed. by Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. xv-xxxvii (pp. xvii, xix).

century environmental issues.⁵³ So while natural spaces signified an undisputed sense of perfection, ecocritics analyse literature's negotiation of human interventions which contaminate nature's perfection. Accordingly, the first wave strove to uncover celebrations of natural beauty and proto-environmental ethics in readily accessible literary and dramatic texts.⁵⁴ However, early ecocritics soon began discussing literature's limits in representing nature, arguing that literature marginalises, even 'others' nature and thereby precipitates its destruction.⁵⁵ Rather than analysing how the human imagination invests contradictory sets of meaning into natural landscapes, ecocritics discuss literary representation as an obstacle that gets in the way of accessing and preserving nature's role as an uncontested site of perfection.

In the 2000s, a second wave of ecocriticism opened up the field to less obvious literary and dramatic texts which address the natural environment in more ambiguous ways.⁵⁶ Instead of expressing discontent with literary representation, ecocriticism moved away from an aggressive anti-anthropomorphic approach towards an 'environmentally useful emphasis of the human component of the human-nature relationship.'⁵⁷ This second wave encouraged scholars to explore the early modern period's environmental

⁵³ William Howarth, 'Some principles of ecocriticism', in *The ecocriticism reader: landmarks in literary ecology*, ed. by Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 69-92 (p. 78).

⁵⁴ Lawrence Buell, *The future of environmental criticism: environmental crisis and literary imagination* (Malden: Blackwell, 2005), p. 19. Key texts of early British ecocriticism also include Jonathan Bate, *Romantic ecology: Wordsworth and the environmental tradition* (London: Routledge, 1991); Jonathan Bate, *Song of the Earth* (London: Picador, 2000).

⁵⁵ Lawrence Buell, *The environmental imagination: Thoreau, nature writing, and the formation of American culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995) pp. 20-21. Estok transfers Buell's conclusions to his analysis of Shakespearean drama. Estok argues that Shakespeare addresses 'ecophobia', the contempt and 'othering' of nature throughout his plays. Simon C. Estok, *Ecocriticism and Shakespeare: reading ecophobia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 2.

⁵⁶ Robert Kern, 'Ecocriticism – what is it good for?', *Interdisciplinary Study of Literature and the Environment*, 7 (2000), pp. 7-32 (p. 11). See also Kathleen R. Wallace and Karla Armbruster, 'Why go beyond nature writing, and where to?', in *Beyond nature writing: expanding the boundaries of ecocriticism*, ed. by Karla Armbruster and Kathleen R. Wallace (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2001), pp. 1-25; Louise Westling, 'Introduction', in *The environmental tradition in English literature*, ed. by John Parham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 1-8; Glen A. Love, *Practical ecocriticism: literature, biology, and the environment* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002).

⁵⁷ Steven Rosendale, 'Extending ecocriticism', in *The greening of literary scholarship: literature, theory, and the environment* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002), pp. xv-xxix (p. xvii). For an early modern example, see Charlotte Scott, 'Still life?: anthropomorphism and the fly in *Titus Andronicus* and *Volpone*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 61 (2008), pp. 256-268.

consciousness and its negotiation in literary culture.⁵⁸ In 2006, the first ecocritical monographs dedicated to Shakespeare were published. In *Green Shakespeare* (2006), Gabriel Egan traces twenty-first-century ecological crises back to the early modern period. His analysis of Shakespearean plays demonstrates 'how past understandings of the world gave rise to the condition of the present.'⁵⁹ Egan argues that Shakespeare stages an 'organic unity' which dominated early modern society's ecological awareness of both the natural and built world and which since has been forgotten.⁶⁰ Robert Watson's *Back to nature* (2006) addresses the impact of religious change on the ecology of green space. In the wake of Protestantism, Watson argues that a discursive distrust in semantics and their ability to represent reality characterised early modern society. Fearing that materiality obscures true knowledge, playwrights, poets and painters changed the manner in which they represented nature. Indeed, early modern theatres sought to depict green spaces in order to portray an unencumbered sense of purity.⁶¹ In his discussion of *As You Like It* (1598-1599), Watson suggests that the Forest of Arden is an attempt on Shakespeare's part to arrive at an Edenic reality, but in the end the forest's unmistakable simplicity can only be comprehended by the courtly metaphors the exiled aristocrats impose upon it.⁶² Egan's and Watson's work, to varying degrees, highlights the ways in which the representation of natural landscapes in early modern texts is connected to early modern politics and ideologies. However, their work succumbs to ecocriticism's tendency to emphasise uncontested, romanticised and idealised elements of the environment on the early modern stage.

⁵⁸ For early examples of Shakespearean ecocriticism, see Simon Estok, 'An introduction to Shakespeare and ecocriticism: the special cluster', *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment*, 12.2 (2005), pp. 109-117 (p. 112).

⁵⁹ Gabriel Egan, *Green Shakespeare: from ecopoetics to ecocriticism* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 50. *Green Shakespeare* triggered numerous publications which trace the twenty-first-century's environmental discourses back to the early modern period. Recent anthologies and monographs mine early modern texts for any proto-modern environmental ethics. See Karen L. Raber and Thomas Hallock, 'Introduction: early modern ecostudies', in *Early modern ecostudies: from the Florentine Codex to Shakespeare*, ed. by Ivo Kamps, Karen L. Raber, and Thomas Hallock (New York: Macmillan, 2008), pp. 1-10 (p. 3); Dan Brayton and Lynne Bruckner, 'Introduction: warbling invaders', in *Ecocritical Shakespeare*, ed. by Lynne Bruckner and Dan Brayton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1-9 (p. 4); Todd A. Borlik, *Ecocriticism and early modern English literature* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.

⁶¹ Robert N. Watson, *Back to nature: the green and the real in the late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2006), p. 57.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 77-107.

Shakespearean drama, Egan and Watson argue, draws on natural spaces in order to negotiate the gradual disappearance of England's rural utopias.

By contrast, only a few ecocritics have discussed the plural and heterogeneous process of the cultural and political formation of nature and green space in literature. Most importantly for my purposes, Michael McDowell and Terry Gifford argue that representations of green space must not necessarily imply purity and beauty. Instead, nature is the product of a dialogical representation, one in which 'multiple voices or points of views interact' to give us a variety of socio-ideological positions.⁶³ In *Ecology without nature* (2009), Timothy Morton develops McDowell's and Gifford's argument. Morton proposes that ecocriticism resist the legacy of Romanticism in perceiving nature as a transcendental and utopian concept. He argues that ecocriticism has inadvertently fetishised the natural environment.

Nature writing partly militates *against* ecology rather than for it. By setting up nature as an object 'over there' – a pristine wilderness beyond all trace of human contact – it re-establishes the very separation it seeks to abolish. We could address this problem by considering the role of subjectivity in nature writing. What kinds of subject positions does nature writing evoke? Instead of looking at trees, look at the person who looks at trees.⁶⁴

Morton is indebted to the work of Theodor Adorno, who in the 1960s recognised that the untameable disorder of nature (*Unbeherrschtheit*) represents a source of anxiety for civilised societies. Consequently, humans bring nature into symmetrical order through artistic intervention. Whether it is in landscape architecture or literary texts, nature is invariably transformed into something more pleasing. Adorno maintains that art does not recreate nature, but the aesthetic experience which nature should provide (*ästhetische Naturerfahrung*). Art does not engage

⁶³ Michael J. McDowell, 'The Bakhtinian road to ecological insight', in *The ecocriticism reader: landmarks in literary ecology*, ed. by Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 371-393 (p. 372); Terry Gifford, 'The social construction of nature', *Interdisciplinary Study of Literature and the Environment*, 3.2 (1996), pp. 27-37 (pp. 31-33).

⁶⁴ Timothy Morton, *Ecology without nature: rethinking environmental aesthetics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 125. See also Neil Smith, *Uneven development: nature, capital, and the production of space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), p. 63. Focusing on the natural environment of the twentieth century in a geographical context, Smith argues that the agencies behind the ideological understanding of nature, 'how we produce nature and *who* controls this production of nature', are pertinent to understanding the discursive construction of the natural environment.

with nature as an object of action (*Aktionsobject*) - be it of labour, or reproduction of life, or science - but as something beautiful, instead.⁶⁵ Rather than mimicking nature, art conceptualises an ideal and, as a result, literature creates what Adorno calls the *Naturschöne* (beauty of nature).⁶⁶ Morton claims that the *Naturschöne*, the concept Egan, Watson and other early modern ecocritics inadvertently concentrate on, obscures individual subject positions which green spaces negotiate in literature and drama. Only when literary critics take 'natural beauty' out of the equation do the agencies and ideologies which represent literary green space move to the forefront. Morton, therefore, argues that the representation of green space signifies more than just a stable, beautiful and uncontaminated ideal. His work advances the methodology of ecocriticism to include the subjective and potentially conflicting and layered homeomorphic versions of green space which underpin the representation of nature in literature and drama.

In this taxonomy of ecocritical literary criticism, I have demonstrated that ecocritics tend to discuss representations of green space as uncontested signifiers of (endangered) beauty and purity. Shakespearean ecocritics analyse how ecological discourses of nature changed in early modern England and how the period's dramatic output both resisted and paved the way for the corruption and destruction of England's pristine environment. Recently however, Morton's ecocritical work has initiated a paradigm shift in literary scholarship on nature and the countryside. His work is invaluable in its emphasis on synchronous and subjective systems of meaning negotiated through representations of green space. In my analysis of early modern drama, I will build on McDowell's, Gifford's and Morton's argument; on the early modern stage, I will suggest, representations of green space are *contested*, that is, they negotiate and compete over a range of cultural, political and socio-ideological concerns which go beyond the representation of an idealised 'natural beauty'.

As I demonstrate in the next section, cultural geographers have long emphasised how representations of landscapes are contested in their negotiation

⁶⁵ Theodor W. Adorno, *Ästhetische Theorie*, in *Theodor W. Adorno: Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann, 16 vols (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1970, repr. 2003), VII., p. 103. For the English translation, see Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic theory*, ed. by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedeman, trans. by C. Lenhardt (London: Routledge, 1984), pp. 91-113.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 112. See also Emile Durkheim's notion of the '*fait social*'. In the process of being replicated by art, nature becomes a product of social and intellectual labour. Emile Durkheim, *The rules of sociological method*, ed. by Steven Lukes, trans. by W.D. Halls (New York: Free Press, 1982), pp. 50-59.

of irreconcilably layered sets of political and ideological meanings. Surprisingly, critics of early modern drama have largely eschewed analysing any political, cultural and ideological competition negotiated in theatrical green spaces in early modern England. In this thesis I work towards filling that critical gap by looking, as Morton proposes, equally at the representation and at the conflicting politics of representing green space on the early modern stage. The geographer Alan Baker argues that while the representation of landscape ‘is composed of a multiplicity of signs it may also contain a plurality of meanings: it is not a simple matter of “one landscape/one message.”’⁶⁷ Alison Findley has observed that theatrical representations of space are ‘the vehicle through which alternative futures can be explored.’⁶⁸ Accordingly, I examine the cultural work early modern dramatic green space and its layered representations and meanings do in the space between the binaries of the *locus amoenus* and disorderly threat, of utopia and dystopia. Indeed, theatrical green spaces both assert and invert elements of Elizabethan and Jacobean political discourse, creating irreconcilable homeomorphic versions of space which simultaneously explore the benefits and the drawbacks, the utopian best-case and dystopian worst-case scenarios, of the period’s most urgent socio-political debates.

III. CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL GREEN SPACES

In the 1990s, cultural geographers focused on the relationship between discourse and the representation of natural landscapes in literature and art in order to argue that green spaces are complex and ideologically-charged cultural products. Cultural geographers argue that green spaces do not necessarily represent homogeneous nostalgic retreats, as ecocritics tend to imply, but that multiple contemporary ideologies and politics determine and clash within the artistic representation of natural landscapes. In *Social formation and symbolic landscape* (1985), Denis Cosgrove emphasises that the artistic representation of green space reflects a particular ‘way of experiencing and expressing feelings towards the

⁶⁷ Alan R.H. Baker, ‘Introduction: on ideology and landscape’, in *Ideology and landscape in historical perspective: essays on the meanings of some places in the past*, ed. by Alan R.H. Baker and Gideon Biger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-14 (p. 9).

⁶⁸ Alison Findlay, *Playing spaces in early women’s drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 1.

external world'. 'Landscape', he argues, 'is a way of seeing the world'.⁶⁹ Indeed, representations of green space register 'the integration of natural and human phenomena'.⁷⁰ Questioning nature's idealised qualities, Cosgrove argues that early seventeenth-century literature and painting perceived the natural world through ideological agendas. In Jacobean England, for example, the representation of green space legitimised the 'ideology of Stuart absolutist yearning.' The poetic work of John Denham and the paintings of Rubens, for instance, portrayed English green spaces 'as a panegyric of the monarch'. Thus, 'the analogy of the rural estate and the state of the realm which is so frequently made in this poetry and in country house picture reinforces the ideology of the landscape in the service of absolutism'.⁷¹ The representation of green space materialises the external world so as to reflect hegemonic socio-political discourse.

Similarly, in *Landscape: politics and perspectives* (1993) Barbara Bender also emphasises the representational qualities of natural landscapes for ideologies and politics. However, Bender attributes multiple perspectives to the representation of landscapes in literature and art. 'The landscape is never inert', she argues; 'people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it'.⁷² Bender aims to 'force recognition of the multiplicity of experience' expressed in artistic representations of the countryside.⁷³ Expanding Cosgrove's argument that representations of landscape reflect hegemonic ideologies, Bender concludes that literary landscapes negotiate multiple, crucially also non-hegemonic, politics. Likewise, Alan Baker emphasises the layered multiplicity which constitutes artistic representations of natural landscapes in *Ideology and landscape in historical perspective* (1992):

'Actual' landscapes are constructions, 'ideal' landscapes are conceptualizations. At the same time, 'actual' landscapes are moulded by ideologies and ideologies are themselves fashioned by 'actual' landscapes: the relationship is reciprocal, the product a dialectical landscape which is a resolution of nature and culture, of practice and philosophy, of reason and imagination, or 'real' and 'symbolic'.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social formation and symbolic landscape* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1985), pp. 9, 13.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-196.

⁷² Barbara Bender, 'Introduction: landscape – meaning and action', in *Landscape: politics and perspectives*, ed. by Barbara Bender (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), pp. 1-17 (p. 2-3).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷⁴ Baker, p. 7.

Representations of green space have to be situated within their own cultural and historical contexts if they are to be fully understood. They cannot be simply reduced to stable utopian ideals. Accordingly, Baker maintains that a 'landscape may have several different systems of symbolic representations existing within it simultaneously and antagonistically.'⁷⁵ The manner in which literature represents green space reflects society's beliefs and practices, emphasising subjective and plural perspectives and ideologies. Mike Crang adds that '[g]eographers have indeed been aware not only of the constructedness of natural landscapes but also their irreconcilability.'⁷⁶ Spatial representations, according to these geographical studies, signify and consolidate a range of irreconcilable and overlapping meanings. Space cannot be reduced to just one signification; because it is intertwined with synchronous social change, beliefs and practices, authors invest numerous, even contradictory, layers into inherently subjective and explicitly political productions of contested green space.

Geographers discuss representations of green space as negotiations and modifications of contemporary politics. The representation of the countryside materialises multiple politics and discourses simultaneously – the representation of space in art and literature, therefore, is heterogeneous and its political sets of meanings are multiple and unstable. In the mid-1980s and 1990s geographers argued that the representation of green space, whether portrayed in landscape art or represented in literature, was subject to the ideologies and imaginations of those who described or depicted them. Contrary to ecocritics who discussed literary pastorals as nostalgic sites of aesthetic purity, stability and withdrawal, then, geographers have turned literary scholarship's attention to the ways in which socio-political discourse revises both the representations and the political signification of contested green space.⁷⁷ Critics of early modern drama appropriated cultural-geographical conclusions and analysed how material

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁷⁶ Mike Crang, *Cultural geography* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 44.

⁷⁷ For further discussions on cultural geography in literary contexts, see Ernest W.B. Hess-Lüttich, 'Spatial turn: on the concept of space in cultural geography and literary theory', *Meta-Carto-Semiotics Journal for Theoretical Cartography*, 5 (2012), pp. 1-11; Kay Anderson, Mona Damosh, Steve Pile, and Nigel Thrift, 'A rough guide', in *Handbook of cultural geography*, ed. by Kay Anderson, Mona Damosh, Steve Pile, and Nigel Thrift (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 1-35; Noel Castree, 'Geographies of nature in the making', in *Handbook of cultural geography*, ed. by Kay Anderson, Mona Damosh, Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 168-183; Sara Blair, 'Cultural Geography and the Place of the Literary', *American Literary History*, 10.3 (1998), pp. 544-567.

practices influenced the cultural production of green spaces in drama and, vice versa, how the representation of green space changed the understanding of the material environment. However, as I now demonstrate, literary critics tend to focus on diachronic patterns of spatial representation, discussing theatrical green space as consisting of a single layer of ideological or political meaning, that is, reflecting one holistic element of Elizabethan and Jacobean discourse and ideology at a time. It is only very recently that critics have begun to discuss the *simultaneously* homeomorphic variants of space and the irreconcilable sets of layered meaning dramatists projected into the overall production of green space on the early modern stage. Until recently, early modern critics have tended to neglect Bender's, Baker's and Crang's conclusions that the meaning of green space cannot be reduced to one single interpretation. By contrast, I argue that plural perspectives or re-writings of green space create dissonant sets of meaning which co-exist in a sedimented imagining of early modern green space on the early modern stage.

In *The politics of mirth* (1986), Leah Marcus focuses on the intersections between discourse, politics and green space. She demonstrates how the Stuart kings stamped their authority onto the English countryside through dramatic entertainments, 'extend[ing] royal power into an area of ambivalence and instability'.⁷⁸ Ben Jonson's *The Golden Age Restored* (1616), for instance, inscribes the court upon the countryside. The masque encourages courtiers to return to rural England where, if they stir up loyalty for the king, a new golden age will emerge.⁷⁹ Five years later, *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621), a play by William Rowley, Thomas Dekker and John Ford, 'employs Stuart themes to undo the Stuart idealisation of the countryside'.⁸⁰ Not unlike the court, bucolic Edmonton has its share of debauchery, corrupt upper-class rakes and even witches. At the end of the play, a dog, the witches' familiar, will go to 'Westminster-hall' and to 'Tyburn, stealing in by Thieving Lane' to import rural corruption into the city (V.i.210-213).⁸¹ The representation of green space, Marcus argues, can either assert or invert Stuart authority. So too, in *Culture and cultivation in early modern England:*

⁷⁸ Marcus, *Politics of mirth*, p. 3.

⁷⁹ Marcus, 'Politics and pastoral', pp. 143-144.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁸¹ William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, and John Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton*, Revels Student Editions, ed. by Peter Cobin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

writing the land (1992), Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor discuss how political discourse changed the manner in which early modern theatres staged green space. '[T]he cultivated landscape was becoming a key metaphor, and more than a metaphor, in the intersecting realms of national, religious, and individual identity', they argue.⁸² Accordingly, Leslie and Raylor discuss how *Richard II* (1595) represents the countryside as a metaphorical garden which, like a country house painting by Rubens, expresses the desire for a unified nation, politics and religion.⁸³ Representations of green space, Leslie and Raylor suggest, are metaphors which invoke contemporary ideologies concerned with the nature of Stuart kingship. On the one hand, the representation of green spaces in *The Golden Age Restored* and *Richard II* legitimises hegemonic ambitions by exporting the court's influence into the countryside. On the other, as Marcus' discussion of rural Edmonton demonstrates - a markedly different space than the one depicted in the *The Golden Age Restored* - green spaces could also offer playwrights the means to undermine aristocratic centralisation. By the late 1990s, two monographs expanded the critical discussion of theatrical green space to consider the ways in which early modern representations of green space addressed debates beyond those of the relationship between the monarch and his subjects in the countryside. Andrew McRae and Garrett Sullivan argue that representations of green space in early modern literature and drama negotiate economic change. Whereas Marcus demonstrates how different green spaces mean different things, Sullivan's and McRae's analyses concentrate on diachronic patterns of spatial representation and how theatrical constructions of green space changed the discourse on the early modern economy.

McRae's *God speed the plough* (1996) and Sullivan's *The drama of landscape* (1998) explore the changing patterns of representing rural England in early modern dramatic and literary culture. Literary engagements with the countryside, McRae argues, 'progressed with constant interaction with processes of social and economic upheaval.' His analysis is 'grounded in a belief that practices of

⁸² Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor, 'Introduction', in *Culture and cultivation in early modern England: writing the land*, ed. by Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 1-12 (p. 3). See also Brian Short, 'Images and realities in the English rural community: an introduction', in *The English rural community: image and analysis*, ed. by Brian Short (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-8 (p. 8). Short argues that descriptions of rural communities tell us more about the individual doing the description rather than the reality of living in the country.

⁸³ Ibid.

representation are enmeshed with processes of material change.’⁸⁴ Demonstrating how enclosure and capitalism modified literary green space, McRae argues that literary and dramatic texts do not merely represent rural England, but discursively encourage agricultural change. For example, Jonson’s *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) promotes proto-capitalist market values; a ‘rhetoric of exploitation’ dominates Jonson’s plot and its representation of green space. In the end, even the protagonists’ steadfast country wife is reduced by her husband to a money generating ‘whore’ (V.v.150).⁸⁵ McRae argues that city comedies epitomise a discursive shift in the way the countryside is represented in early modern culture. Rather than staging agricultural complaint, that is, representing rural England as opposing agricultural advance, Jacobean city comedies evoke profit-centred values by representing rural England as an economic trade commodity.⁸⁶ McRae suggests that Jonson refuses to criticise his characters’ exploitation of rural England because early modern theatres and playwrights equally profited from the acquisitive ethos and financial power of London.⁸⁷ For Sullivan, the representation of green space is ‘profoundly ideological,’ reflecting a whole range of ‘social phenomena that are indivisible from the land’. Representations of green space on the early modern stage merge human and natural phenomena – an integration which, Sullivan maintains, is impossible to disentangle on the early modern stage.⁸⁸ Shakespeare’s maps in *Henry IV, Part 1* (c.1596-1597), *King Lear* (1605-1606) and *Richard II*, for example, evoke ‘a political landscape that reflects and shapes the ambitions and imperatives of those who control or would control the nation’; the plays highlight the manner in which the monarchy centralised agricultural land and questions the annihilation of regional particularities and economies.⁸⁹ The work of McRae and Sullivan has had a significant impact on the understanding of early modern drama’s engagement with rural politics. They

⁸⁴ Andrew McRae, *God speed the plough: the representation of agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 7; Ben Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, in *The Devil is an Ass and other plays*, Oxford World’s Classics, ed. by Margaret Jane Kidnie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-108. In *Literature and Domestic Travel* (2009), McRae develops his previous research to explore models for representing the contours of nationhood as defined by connections across national space. Andrew McRae, *Literature and domestic travel in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁸⁸ Garrett Sullivan, Jr., *The drama of landscape: land, property, and social relations on the early modern stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 108.

argue that, rather than exclusively imagining utopian anti-realities or representing a courtly space, the manner in which playwrights staged the countryside registers diachronic shifts in parochial and agrarian politics and discourse. Representations of green space offer dramatists and their audiences the means to make sense of cultural and economic change.

Julie Sanders draws on the critical models established by cultural geographers in order to analyse the extent to which the Caroline stage negotiated site-specific country politics. In *The cultural geography of early modern drama* (2011), Sanders discusses how the staging of rural practice deconstructed any idealised perceptions of the countryside.⁹⁰ By way of analysing the cultural geographies of Gloucestershire, Nottinghamshire and London, Sanders demonstrates how the city and the countryside were in a dialectic relationship.⁹¹ Indeed, London's public theatres staged green spaces which displayed a profound engagement with the 'material semiotics' of regional politics and the particularities of non-urban England.⁹² In *A Jovial Crew* (1641) and *The Sad Shepherd* (c.1612-1637), two particularly rich readings, the representation of the countryside addresses local disputes over venison and access to land, and the threats these conflicts posed for the social stability of pastoral communities.⁹³ These plays discuss the political practice of specific locales in rural England; in the case of *The Sad Shepherd*, labour and migration threaten to undo pastoral Nottinghamshire's social fabric. *The cultural geography of early modern drama* differs from previous works in the field because it demonstrates how London's theatres displayed an acute sense of locality when representing green space. In fact, Caroline dramatists overwrote any idealised understandings of rural England by staging how actual rural places were practised by its users, and the local anxieties and conflicts rural communities had to cope with. Sanders' work illustrates how early modern drama was overtly engaged with the production of regional spaces, politics and practices.

Parallel to Morton's aforementioned ecocritical paradigm shift which addresses the multiple perspectives of green space, recent Shakespearean critics have developed the work of Marcus, Sullivan, McRae and Sanders in order to

⁹⁰ Sanders, p. 17. See also Kate Chedgzoy, 'The cultural geographies of early modern women's writings: journeys across spaces and times', *Literature Compass*, 3/4 (2006), pp. 884-895.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 12

⁹² Ibid., pp. 68, 99.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 75.

discuss the ambiguity and multivocality of theatrical green space, thereby also distancing themselves from the previous holistic understandings of Shakespearean green space. Jeffrey Theis' *Writing the forest in early modern England* (2009) argues that the 'forest is always a multiple place that means different things to different characters. But unlike a blank stage, the geography of the green plot often disrupts or disqualifies each character's forest definition and the personal identity that character hopes the forest will support.'⁹⁴ For Charlotte Scott, 'the forest was a place of exploration that stood in conversation with the social world but also in conflict with it.'⁹⁵ In 'Dark matter: Shakespeare's foul dens and forests' (2011), she argues that the Forest of Arden negotiates conflicting imaginings: 'Like a modern hologram the forest moves between horror and beauty, pleasure and danger depending on the body of the character through which we view it.'⁹⁶ Similarly, Habermann's 'Shakespeare's topology of shipwrecking' (2012) demonstrates how *The Tempest* 'creates worlds with multiple cultural resonances which are open to an infinite number of interpretations'.⁹⁷ These three critics demonstrate how individual understandings of theatrical green space collide on the early modern stage. Theis, Scott and Habermann suggest that Shakespeare stages how natural landscapes were understood through conflicting subjective imaginings. In this thesis, I wish to contextualise their work on the Shakespearean forest by looking at the production of a range of different types of green space. I demonstrate how conflicting understandings of socio-political concerns triggered the production of contested green spaces on the early modern stage. Green spaces on the early modern stage are contested because they are layered not necessarily just with the theatrical characters' subjective perspectives of the forest and of selfhood, but also with multiple and contradictory contemporary socio-political discourses and debates. I argue that early modern drama produced imaginary green spaces which simultaneously explored, challenged and inverted the potential consequences of

⁹⁴ Jeffrey S. Theis, *Writing the forest in early modern England: a sylvan pastoral nation* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009), p. xiii.

⁹⁵ Charlotte Scott, 'Dark matter: Shakespeare's foul dens and forests', *Shakespeare Survey*, 64 (2011), pp. 276-289 (p. 276).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁹⁷ Habermann, p. 59. See also Kirsten Poole, *Supernatural environments in Shakespeare's England: spaces of demonism, divinity, and drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 6-24. Poole argues that shifting eschatological beliefs in the early modern period resulted in metamorphic and fluid representations of divinely ordered space on the Shakespearean stage.

changes to society's religious composition, shifts in consumption culture, disagreements about royal succession and the space of nationhood.

The critics I have discussed in this critical survey have produced an absorbing range of research on the ideological and cultural formations which contribute to the theatrical construction of green space. Ecocritics tend to discuss rural England as a nostalgic space. For Marcus, the theatrical representation of the countryside either promotes or destabilises aristocratic centralisation. Furthermore, scholars of early modern drama have argued that the theatres' representation of green space registers social change, addressing and enabling agricultural and economic shifts in early modern rural England. McRae and Sullivan focus on patterns where one homogeneous mode of representation excluded an other, or followed the next in a tidy sequence of successive diachronic shifts. Sanders' work demonstrates how Caroline theatres staged the practice of rural communities. While the arguments of these critics will resonate strongly throughout the four chapters of this thesis, Theis, Scott and Habermann come closest to my objectives in this thesis; their work acknowledges that representations of green space negotiate multiple overlapping imaginings. However, what none of these strands of analysis fully articulates is the extent to which early modern texts, and especially theatrical texts, represent the countryside as a space layered with conflicting political meanings, that is, the extent to which drama produced a *contested* space which negotiates multiple cultural and political resonances and interpretations simultaneously. Rather than limiting the representation of green space to a single-layered, holistic meaning, my topological analysis of green space on the early modern stage suggests that these representations of green space express competition and imply the need for negotiation over a variety of contemporary political debates. Rather than thinking about theatrical green space in mutually exclusive settings and contexts, I argue that the green spaces of early modern drama are contradictory, yet nevertheless connected, simultaneously asserting, challenging and inverting multiple and irreconcilable discourses within the same representational spatial abstraction. Early modern dramatists inverted theatrical green space into its homeomorphic opposites depending on the context of their play. As a result, theatrical green spaces were unstable and sedimented constructs negotiating a range of plural meanings – the representation of green space was more disorderly and fluid than

critics have suggested. Collectively, the production of green spaces both affirmed and challenged national socio-policies preoccupied with religion, consumption, royal succession and nationhood.

Critics of early modern drama have tended to argue that the representation of green space on the stage is diachronic and single-layered, that is, that it represents one element of discourse at a time. This work, though enormously informative and generative, arguably limits critical access to the range of significations that dramatists collectively invested in the theatrical representations of specific green sites and the cultural work these representations do in respect of discursive and political unease. A topological approach, by contrast, acknowledges the abstract nature of the majority of theatrical green spaces, but also the layers of meaning, the contradictions and the connections early modern playwrights inscribed upon theatrical green spaces. Indeed, the majority of early modern drama's rural settings are of an abstract, ambiguous or generic nature and cannot be found on a map. As I have already noted, critics usually read Arden as a site either of utopian withdrawal or of threat. Its topographical location is equally unstable. Critics disagree whether the forest represents Warwickshire, Flanders, or even Richmond Palace.⁹⁸ Likewise, Caliban's green island is located simultaneously in the New World, the Mediterranean or on the British archipelago; both domestic politics and the context of incipient colonialism resonate in *The Tempest* in equal measure.⁹⁹ In the final section of this introduction, I begin my analysis of the representation of green space on the early modern stage by demonstrating how vast parts of the countryside were ambiguous, empty and unmappable spaces. The early modern stage filled these ambiguous spaces with folkloric personifications who followed their own, at times subversive desires through these supposedly 'empty' spaces. A topological analysis of these ambiguous green spaces reveals how early modern drama mapped subjective meanings onto parts of the English countryside and, according to the contexts and politics of their plays, produced a series of unstable and contested green spaces on the stage.

⁹⁸ Juliet Dusinberre, 'Introduction', in *As You Like It*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Methuen, 2006), pp. 1-142 (p. 48).

⁹⁹ Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, 'Introduction', in *The Tempest*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Methuen, 2011), pp. 1-149 (p. 39).

IV. POPULATING EMPTY GREEN SPACES ON THE EARLY MODERN STAGE

In *Literature and domestic travel* (2009), McRae explains the shortcomings of early modern maps' topographical visualisation of the landscape:

For all the maps' apparent promise of potential connections, places are represented in varying states of isolation, surrounded by emptiness. The inert space between places – space, that is, that sets places apart and as a result makes them distinct – is thus just as important as the possible routes that might be imagined to connect these places.¹⁰⁰

McRae suggests that in between accessible and mapped places - towns, rivers, roads and mountains - early modern England had many uncharted spaces untouched by a navigational travel network. These uncharted spaces were perceived as empty or devoid of any significance in early modern cartography and landscape descriptions. In suggesting that vast parts of rural were depicted as empty, McRae is echoing de Certeau's argument that a functionalised grid of pathways, both of rivers and roads, structure and homogenise a landscape. As in de Certeau's observation of the hegemonic dominance of street networks, early modern road and river passages navigate their way between named and mapped places, channelling and controlling movement and traffic safely through supposedly empty space on pre-defined routes. By contrast, anything untouched by the road or river network is, as I will now demonstrate, by implication empty, unoccupied, devoid of signification and potentially dangerous. I will now, in concluding this introduction, discuss four early modern texts representing different genres - a chorographical description, a travel report, a royal speech and a travel guide - in order to demonstrate the extent to which contemporaries imagined large parts of rural England as empty and desolate. And I will suggest that the manner in which drama filled these supposedly empty green spaces with dissonant alternative scrawling lines is crucial to understanding the homeomorphic and contested nature of green spaces and the politics dramatists negotiate on the early modern stage.

William Harrison's *An Historicall Description of the Islande of Britayne* (1577) was published to complement Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. *An Historicall Description* focuses on topographical portrayals of rural

¹⁰⁰ McRae, *Literature and domestic travel*, p. 32.

England. Relying on previous accounts by John Leland and maps by Christopher Saxton, Harrison confesses that 'except it were from the parish where I dwell unto Your Honor in Kent, or out of London, where I was born, unto Oxford and Cambridge, where I have been brought up, I never traveled forty miles forthright and at one journey in all my life'.¹⁰¹ In spite of his good will to make up for his lack of travel, Harrison's description of the British countryside follows the itineraries of the travel network. Like the Jacobean chorographers which I will discuss in Chapter Three, Harrison describes the passage of rivers and roads through rural England, only occasionally digressing to chronicle prominent landmarks. The course of rivers, McRae notes, 'provided a critical context in which contemporaries could re-imagine relations between the nation's subjects and spaces.'¹⁰² In addition to rivers, Harrison dedicates a substantial amount of *An Historicall Description* to the four ancient Roman roads spanning Britain from south to north and from west to east. Crucially, what lies between the prominent landmarks, or the river and road network remains unknown, empty and isolated. Harrison informs his readership why the Roman roads were originally built:

First of all I find that Dunwallo, King of Britain, about 483 years before the birth of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, seeing the subject of his realm to be in sundry wise oppressed by thieves and robbers as they traveled to and fro, and being willing (so much as in him lay) to redress these inconveniences, caused his whole kingdom to be surveyed, and then, commanding four principal ways to be made, which should lead such as traveled into all parts thereof from sea to sea, he gave sundry larges privileges unto the same, whereby they became safe and very much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the security of his subjects, so he made sharp laws grounded upon justice for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to any traveller that should be met withal or found within the limits of those passages.¹⁰³

In *An Historicall Description*, the distinguishing feature of the green space is not its emptiness *per se* but the inherent lawlessness it represents. The road network, in contrast, submits the countryside to a legal system of punishments and privileges. Everything that is not permeated by roads or rivers, the vast parts of rural England unmentioned and not 'surveyed' by the road network, by implication remains unencumbered by any kind of surveillance and law.

¹⁰¹ William Harrison, *The Description of England: the classic contemporary account of Tudor social life*, ed. by Georges Edelen (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1994), p. 6.

¹⁰² McRae, *Literature and domestic travel*, p. 23.

¹⁰³ Harrison, p. 442.

Thomas Platter, a traveller from Basel visiting England in 1599, was made aware of the danger lying on either side of the Roman roads. Before Platter could attend a performance of *Julius Caesar* (1598-1599) and meet Queen Elizabeth, he travelled along Watling Street, the Roman East-West road, towards the capital. Between Sittingbourne and Gravesend, he had to traverse some particularly lawless space. Platter recounts how he 'travelled the whole night by waggon through many very dangerous localities as report has it, but since there was a whole waggon-load of us, we suffered no anxiety.'¹⁰⁴ The road network guaranteed Platter's safety in the supposedly dangerous Kentish countryside. Later, his travel arrangements between Oxford and Cambridge were disrupted because the space between the two towns was considered too dangerous. After visiting Christ's College in Cambridge, Platter's coachman refused to continue the journey: 'and now [the coachman] made objections that the road was too boggy and difficult to find, for that neighbourhood was uninhabited and rather deserted'.¹⁰⁵ Emptiness and danger emerge as defining features of green space between the road network.

King James I was equally uneasy about the supposedly empty parts of rural England. London's increase in population and the concomitant depletion of the countryside were central themes in a series of royal speeches and proclamations I return to in greater detail in Chapter Two. In the Star Chamber Speech of July 1616, James notes that the country is deserted and that its emptiness posed a threat to the political stability of the nation. The monarch reports how many members of the landowning gentry have settled in London, or in the vicinity of the court, thereby neglecting the care of their country estates and rural communities. As a result, James claims, the social fabric of rural England has changed considerably for the worse.

For beside the hauing of the countrey desolate, when the Gentry dwell thus in *London*, diuers other mischiefes arise vpon it: First, if insurrection should fall out [...] what order can bee taken with it, when the countrey is vnfurnished of Gentlemen to take order with it?¹⁰⁶

This speech implies that vast parts of the country are deserted because of the gentry's exodus to the capital. Rural England is empty, desolate and inhospitable

¹⁰⁴ *Thomas Platter's travels in England, 1599*, ed. and trans. by Clare Williams (London: Cape, 1937), p. 150.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁶ *King James VI and I: political writings*, ed. by Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 226-227.

because it is inhabited by the wrong kind of non-aristocratic people. The monarch encourages landowners to return to their estates in order to fill the supposedly empty spaces of rural England with the right kind of aristocrat. The return of the gentry, James believes, would stabilise the countryside and prevent revolutionary activities. In effect, the speech pre-empts the objectives the monarch would declare two years later in *The Book of Sports*, where he overwrites the countryside according to his aristocratic and Protestant vision. In a similar fashion, the Star Chamber Speech seeks to accommodate the empty, barren and potentially lawless space under a Jacobean panoptic gaze by filling it with loyal courtiers, while inadvertently acknowledging the presence of bodies following their own ideological, perhaps even rebellious, paths.

John Norden's *An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers* (1625), a text to which I will return in Chapter Four, produced a series of tables listing the distances between towns and parishes throughout England and Wales. Norden announces that he will create a landscape echoing James' panoptic surveillance of the countryside in 1616.

But this [the countryside as represented in Norden's tables] is so vulgar, and so plaine, that euery *Eye* may see it, euery *Minde* may conceiue it, & euery *Tounge* my censure it[.] [...] It is a new inuention, yet as those that are shut vp, onely to be seene for reward; It is open to more then *Argos* eyes, not only without admiration, but subiect to cauellation. (A2r)¹⁰⁷

By way of reducing rural England to numbers, tables and 'censure', Norden argues that he has made the landscape accessible to all. However, later in his introduction, Norden puts his work into perspective, revealing why his technique fails to subject all of the countryside to '*Argos* eyes':

Therefore Gentlemen, if you find (as no doubt you may) any errors in the calculation or impression. It may please you to consider, that it is not possible for any Artists, so precisely to deliniate so great (nay farre lesse) Countrey, and the perticular Townes, and their seuerall distances within the same; but that some errours of necessitie will be committed especially by reason of hills, woods, and other impediments, which intercepts the view from station to station. So that the lines of opposition cannot be so exactly directed, as vpon plaine and open horizon. (A2v)

¹⁰⁷ John Norden, *An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers* (London: 1625).

'[H]ills, woods and other impediments' interfere with Norden's measurements and surveillance. These spaces reject the direction of what he calls the 'lines of opposition', a visual concept resembling de Certeau's navigational grid, which Norden's tables draw across the countryside. Woods and hills remain inaccessible to Norden's 'Eye'; untouched by his visual network, these rural 'impediments' are again imagined as empty, devoid of signification and potentially dangerous.

The texts of Harrison, Platter, James I and Norden betray a deep unease about the assumed emptiness of green spaces in between rivers, roads or 'lines of opposition'. On the early modern stage, in contrast, green spaces are rarely simply empty.¹⁰⁸ Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein argue that the map, or 'the cartographical image', provides 'a conceptual paradigm for the mental organisation of human experience' and 'is revealed as more than a mere functional tool, or neutral scientific record, emerging instead as a crucial representational site of cultural and historical change.' Most importantly for my purposes, 'space, through its visualisation in maps, could be redefined, re-imagined, and appropriated for radically new purposes' and could equally have a 'socially and politically disruptive influence.'¹⁰⁹ I believe that the same applies to empty green space as produced in early modern drama.¹¹⁰ By filling the space with alternative trajectories, early modern drama mapped out entirely new places – places which are previously empty and without signification in early modern cartography. De Certeau argues

¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Bernhard Klein has observed the discrepancies between the stage and cartography, arguing that 'while the stage is defined through the physical *presence* of bodies, the new maps trades on their *absence*.' Bernhard Klein, 'Tamburlaine, sacred space, and the heritage of medieval cartography', in *Reading the medieval in early modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 143-158 (p. 152). See also studies by Richard Helgerson and Jerry Brotton which have charted the way developments in cartography and subsequent changes in the social and imaginative conceptualising of space influenced early modern writers. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Jerry Brotton, *Trading territories: mapping the early modern world* (London: Reaktion, 1997).

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, 'Introduction', in *Literature, mapping, and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1-12 (pp. 2-4). See also Dustagheer, p. 574.

¹¹⁰ For an analysis of the representation of the sea, a conceptually similar type of empty space, see Bernhard Klein, 'Mapping the waters: sea charts, navigations, and Camões's *Lusíadas*', *Renaissance Studies*, 25.2 (2001), pp. 228-247 (p. 239). 'Unlike topographical maps, which could offer reliable information on permanent landscape features and describe specific locations such as hills, rivers and cities in relational terms, sea charts constituted frames of spatial reference that held no content, that circumscribed an emptiness: a blank surface without *landmark* or other points of orientation.'

that in contrast to the navigational grid, *lignes d'erre*, or wandering lines, do not follow marked-out routes. Instead, they create unforeseeable movements of interests and desires which cannot be captured by the system in which they develop. *Lignes d'erre* are “indirect” or “errant” trajectories obeying their own logic.¹¹¹ Accordingly, early modern dramatists populated early modern cartography’s unknown, unnamed and isolated rural space between the rivers and roads with a variety of polyphonic fictional characters who followed untraceable desires and ideologies on their own *lignes d'erre* through the countryside. In *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, for instance, Puck admits his freedom of movement through otherwise inaccessible green space. The forest’s fairies wander ‘Over hill, over dale, | Thorough bush, thorough brier, | Over park, over pale, | Thorough flood, thorough fire, I do wander everywhere’ (II.i.2-6).¹¹² Similar folkloric and mythical characters and personifications such as Robin Hood, mother-earth, satyrs and wild men were both hegemonic signifiers, and simultaneously re-cast the English countryside as a homeomorphic counter-space with autonomous political objectives. On stage, these characters followed their own dissonant and contradictory desires and politics, marking out a distinctly layered space which simultaneously appropriates and disrupts elements of Elizabethan and Jacobean discourse. In Puck’s case, he executes his master Oberon’s desires within a counter-space parallel to the Athenian court. In their detached and independent green spaces, mythical characters negotiated the interests and the subversion of contemporary cultural and political discourses on the early modern stage.

Myth and fiction play an important part in the imagination and production of space on the early modern stage. If the topology of natural landscapes contains and conveys conflicting discursive fields or sets of meaning as I argued above, then, polyphonic mythical and fictional personifications moving along untraceable *lignes d'erre* project specific, if contradictory, political meanings into the dramatic imagining of empty space. Cosgrove argues that

[m]yths may both shape and be shaped by landscape, not only by those localised and specific landscapes visible on the ground, but equally by archetypal landscapes imaginatively constituted from

¹¹¹ de Certeau, p. xviii.

¹¹² William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, The Arden Shakespeare Second Series, ed. by Harold Brooks (London: Thomson Learning, 1979).

human experiences in the material world and represented in spoken and written words, poetry, painting, theatre or film.¹¹³

On the early modern stage, curious, acentric, mythical figures and personifications filled many of the supposedly empty green spaces in early modern England. I argue in this thesis that their dramatic presence in empty green space simultaneously problematised and shaped the layered production of contested green space and the conflicting politics it negotiated.

‘The meaning generated by a given text may well be multiple or self-cancelling, or both,’ Leah Marcus argues. ‘Instead of striving for a single holistic interpretation of a text, we may find ourselves marking out a range of possibilities or identifying nexuses of contradiction.’¹¹⁴ In *The Book of Sports*, rural Lancashire offers a cluster of paradoxes of the kind Marcus describes. James’ edict produces simultaneously incompatible versions of the northern countryside. In this thesis, I explore how early modern drama populated four specific manifestations of rural green spaces, supposedly empty rural *loci* between the road network, with mythical or fictional personifications. These fictional stage characters follow their own errant and indirect itineraries, thereby producing contested green spaces as a cluster of topological constellations which simultaneously affirm, contest and invert elements of early modern culture and politics.

However, the term green space covers a nearly indefinite range of natural spaces and various manifestations of such such natural environments feature prominently in many early modern plays. In this thesis, therefore, I will have to limit my analysis to four exemplary studies of specific theatrical versions of green space: Robin Hood’s northern greenwood, agricultural fields, idyllic Arcadias and the mountainous wilderness of Wales. The green spaces I discuss in this thesis have distinctly non-urban features in common. In a similar manner, Northrop Frye defined the natural world of Shakespearean drama as a ‘green world’, that is, as an alternative natural environment which functions beyond the social order of the city or the court. In Frye’s readings of early modern plays, the stage characters flee to these green worlds in order to resolve their problems.¹¹⁵ Contrary to Frye, in

¹¹³ Denis Cosgrove, ‘Landscapes and myths, gods and humans’, in *Landscapes: politics and perspectives*, ed. by Barbara Bender (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993), pp. 281-305 (p. 281).

¹¹⁴ Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: local reading and its discontents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 37.

¹¹⁵ Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 182-184.

this thesis I rely on the term *green space* rather than *green world*, because I wish to demonstrate throughout this thesis the extent to which the natural environment, as represented on the early modern stage, does not necessarily represent a secluded and isolated world. Instead, dramatic green spaces represent an open and permeable space which negotiates a complex ideological relationship with the urban and courtly domain. Whereas Frye's green world opposes the city by definition, I will demonstrate that green spaces were not exclusively opposed to a separated city or the court, but that dramatic green spaces equally negotiate, confirm and overlap with exterior urban and courtly politics. The natural environment, as represented on the early modern stage, is therefore not necessarily a separated world, but a fluid and unsettled space which simultaneously promotes and scrutinises the politics and social order of both the city and the court in front of its early modern audiences. In the four chapters of this thesis, I focus on four exemplary green spaces which are distinctly non-urban, but nevertheless both confirm and limit any potentially problematic urban and courtly ideologies.

Developing my discussion of *The Book of Sports* and the Shakespearean forest, in Chapter One I explore the early modern theatrical imagining of England's northern countryside, a territory historically associated with Catholicism and *de facto* independence. The character of Robin Hood personified northern politics in contemporary ballads, particularly as his greenwood hideout was located alternatively near Nottingham, Bradford, Wakefield, Kendal or Barnsdale. The greenwood outlaw negotiated the social and cultural instability between the hegemony of the court and the religious subversion of the distant north. Triggering a Robin Hood vogue in London, oral ballads such as *A Merry Iest of Robin Hood* (c.1590) portrayed the northern greenwood as a medieval Catholic space, a decentralised monastery inaccessible to the monarchy. In 1596, the Oxfordshire Rebellion enacted a fantasy akin to Robin's traditional exploitation of the rich in order to feed the needy. The discursive impact of the rebellion changed the manner in which London's theatres re-imagined the realm of the famous northern rebel. Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle's *The Downfall Of Robert, Earle Of Huntingdon* (1598) and *The Death Of Robert, Earle Of Hvntingdon* (1598) eliminated the greenwood's subversive elements, staging instead a contained and subservient space, reflective of the court's religious ideology. The Huntingdon

plays re-imagined the greenwood as Protestant and re-distributed it into the hands of peerage. *George a Greene* (1587-1593) also modified the northern greenwood, presenting it as openly subversive if it were not for local northerners who prevented the outlaws' plan to overthrow the monarchy. The play homogenised the cultural geography of rural England, imagining a loyal northern extension of the court. Ballads and plays collectively produced northern green space as simultaneously sovereign and Catholic as well as centralised and Protestant. Shakespeare's *As You Like It* incorporated both topological variants of the greenwood. Arden is homeomorphically Protestant and Catholic, navigable and inaccessible. I argue that Shakespeare's greenwood negotiated the sedimented and heterogeneous religious layers of rural England. While certain plays re-made the greenwood into a courtly space and converted it to Protestantism, *As You Like It* merged conflicting and overlapping imaginations of the hybrid greenwood, exploring both possibilities and limits of the court's relationship with the distant north.

In Chapter Two, I analyse the impact of nascent agricultural capitalism on the theatrical production of green space. London's growing desire for imported rural commodities was negotiated on the early modern stage through a gendered, mother-earth vocabulary, which compared agricultural space to a nurturing and exploitable female body. However, agricultural change did not go uncontested; rural rebellions such as the 1607 Midlands Uprising called for the re-establishment of a parochial system and hint at the local resistance that occasionally emerged towards the acceleration of agricultural advance. Playwrights critical of agricultural capitalism imagined green space not as a passive woman but as a destructive female force which occupied urban space and sterilised the city's sexualised desires. London's city wall fulfilled a central role in the theatre's evaluation of agricultural innovation in the countryside. Like a membrane, the wall both admitted rural produce and protected the city from rural revolt, but, as I demonstrate in this chapter, it rarely achieved both on the early modern stage. I argue that the co-existence of agricultural capitalism and residual parochialism was negotiated in early modern drama. The multivocal responses towards agricultural change were reflected in the theatres' contested engagement with a gendered agricultural space. Theatrical representations of agricultural green spaces expressed both the benefits and drawbacks of economic upheavals, or the

simultaneous profits and threats awaiting urban investors beyond the city wall. City comedies such as *Michaelmas Term* (1604-1606) and *Epicoene* (1609) staged a city which raped and devoured the green environment that surrounded it. The protagonists projected their erotic desires into the adjacent countryside, while the wall protected London from undesirable elements. In *Timon of Athens* (c.1606-c.1608), the city similarly relied on rural produce imported by the eponymous protagonist. However, Athens' greed eventually consumed and sterilised itself. The wall cannot protect the city from the disease and infertility which the country prostitutes import into the city. Similarly, in John Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize* (1611) the city wall cannot prevent the rebellious country wenches from reclaiming their lands. Fletcher specifically negotiated the policies behind the Midlands Revolt. He re-imagined agricultural green space beyond the city walls not as a passive mother-earth figure, but as a female force which invades the city, reclaims urban produce and re-pastoralises urban space. I argue that by way of imagining green spaces through a gendered mother-earth vocabulary, early modern city comedies collectively produced a countryside that fulfilled investors' wildest and erotic dreams and expressed the danger of greed's infertility or lack of sustainability. In their production of homeomorphic agricultural green spaces, early modern playwrights explored both the countryside's wealth and its capacity for destruction.

Pastoral drama of the seventeenth century was for the most part set in Arcadia, the classic space of harmony and visual perfection. Ever since Virgil's *Eclogues*, satyrs had inhabited Arcadia. In early modern England's dramatic culture, however, satyrs developed into complex and polyphonic representatives of pastoral Arcadian green space, as I argue throughout Chapter Three. James I fashioned himself as a benevolent satyr-type in his poetic texts. He followed a vogue triggered by Albrecht Dürer's engravings, in which satyrs were stewards of both nature and humans. Ben Jonson's *Pan's Anniversary* (1620) and *Oberon* (1611) equally equated James with a satyr who peacefully reigns over a homogeneous Arcadian green space. Jonson's masques centralised Jacobean sovereignty and merged the satyr's perfect space with that of the court; James' limitless authority covered all of Arcadia and implicitly, all of England. By contrast, the Spenserians, a loose group of creative writers broadly opposed to the mainstream politics of the Jacobean court, drew on Arcadian green space to

achieve the opposite. Michael Drayton's chorographical poem *Poly-Olbion* (1622) and Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1608-1609) decentralised English Arcadias. Their satyrs were satiric outsiders who criticised the court and inhabited the geographical margins, while reigning on the brink of political transgression. The Spenserians' Arcadia was oppositional and independent, expressing an alternative idealisation of green space. Shakespeare simultaneously drew on Jonson's and the Spenserians' versions of Arcadian satyrs. *The Winter's Tale* (c.1610-1611) and *The Tempest* featured both versions of the satyr and produced conflicting idealisations of green space. The plays encouraged the audience to look closer at the subjective agencies behind the contested early modern production of an ideal Arcadian pastoral space. I argue that pastoral entertainments negotiate the topological connection between the monarch and the geography of the countryside; politically united and ideologically fragmented, the geography of Arcadian green space inverted contested spatial and political ideals on the early modern stage.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I analyse how discourses of nationhood were debated on the early modern stage and how these debates intersected with the topology of the mountainous Welsh periphery. Secluded behind what Camden called the '*British Alps*', Welsh green spaces were home to uncivilised and barbaric wild men on the early modern stage. The Principality's precarious geographic location – between English civility and Irish barbarity – meant that the period's artistic output was continuously occupied by shepherding Wales back towards civility, thereby justifying and affirming the colonisation and homogenisation of Wales which was institutionalised under the Act of Union. At the same time, Geoffrey of Monmouth's historiography represented Wales as home to original, pure and civil Britons, who resisted the corruption of pagan Saxon colonisers and their later conversion to Catholicism. Accordingly, playwrights produced Welsh green space as a site both desired and rejected by English self-conception. The western periphery, as produced on the early modern stage, was more than just a negative foil for English self-definition; it was simultaneously a model for what England could still aspire to become. I argue that Wales and its wild, impenetrable, untamed and mountainous landscape represented both a threat and a role model in relation to a seemingly tamed and civilised conception of English space and nationhood on the early modern stage. Theatres explored the

contested representation of the Welsh landscape through different types of Welsh wild men. *The Valiant Welshman* (1610-1615) portrays Wales and its inhabitants as embracing lingering savagery, but at the same time the play imagines Welsh mountains as representing the Principality's pure and uncorrupted superiority. The play describes Wales' military fame and heroism as an alternative to Jacobean England's pacifism. By contrast, George Peele's *Edward I* (1590-1593) and John Milton's *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1637) imagined Wales primarily as a secluded and untamed space of savage violence. On the one hand, Peele reinforced the Act of Union as a necessity for assimilating the Welsh landscape to England; the play tamed both the wild Welsh man and his wild habitat. On the other hand, Milton's masque ascribed limits to the assimilatory impact the English centre has on its untamed periphery and reputed wild men. The masque problematised the policy of the Act of Union and England's ensuing uneasy relationship with the Principality. Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (c.1608-1611) dramatises spatial and national hybridity; the play's Welsh wild men reclaimed the space of the coloniser and introduced Welsh wilderness to the English court. By 'Welshifying' the centre, Shakespeare's imagination of Welsh and English green space gestured towards an unstable construction of English nationhood by inverting its spatiality. The supposedly inaccessible and untamed Welsh landscape was simultaneously distanced but also folded into the English centre on the early modern stage. I argue that by way of the figure of the wild man, early modern drama produced Welsh green space as both rugged and untamed, but also as continuously encroaching on England's ordered and civilised spatiality and self-understanding of nationhood.

Throughout this thesis, I argue that early modern drama's unstable and dissonant production of green space played a significant role in the negotiation of political debates on the stage. Individual plays' varying and contradictory imaginings of green space contributed to a layered theatrical production of the countryside. Homeomorphic variants of green spaces not only asserted, but also contested and inverted Elizabethan and Jacobean discourses of religion, consumption, dissent and nationhood. The collective production of contested green space on the early modern stage negotiated both the limits and the opportunities expressed through these debates. I argue that the multiplicity and topological connectivity of rural space as represented on the early modern stage – and as it was made manifest in the mythical characters which inhabit the theatres'

green spaces – challenged and interrogated many of the cultural and political binaries of the early modern period. By analysing the ways in which green spaces are produced through layers of dissonant voices on the early modern stage, I argue that the contested countryside was a gauge for cultural and political competition in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.

CHAPTER ONE

REVISITING ROBIN HOOD'S GREENWOOD: SECTARIANISM IN NORTHERN ENGLAND, 1590-1599

On 12 April 1549, Hugh Latimer, the bishop of Worcester, criticised the state of the nation by recalling a cold welcome he had received in an unspecified parish between Worcester and London. Having intended to preach on a 'holy day' at the parish church, Latimer was surprised to find it empty and locked. Rather than attending mass, he noted that the 'parish are gone abroad to gather for Robin Hood.' Understandably, Latimer, who would later be listed as a Protestant martyr in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1583), finds the widespread popularity of 'a traitor and a thief' somewhat worrying.¹ Not least because Robin Hood was originally a medieval Catholic hero, as I will demonstrate throughout this chapter. Only in the course of the late sixteenth century did early modern playwrights remodel the Catholic outlaw into a Protestant aristocrat. In the course of this transformation, Robin's greenwood hideout underwent an identical inversion. In this chapter, I argue that northern green space, as produced in the collective theatrical output, appears as simultaneously Catholic and Protestant, oppositional and loyal, negotiating the forceful reformation of the English countryside and its stubbornly persistent Catholic remnants.

Not unlike James' *The Book of Sports*, Latimer's sermon describes a sectarian countryside which lacks Protestant piety. Robin Hood's medieval ties to Catholicism increased Latimer's concerns about recusants clandestinely celebrating May Games while hiding in the supposedly empty spaces of the English countryside. Throughout its performance history and reception, the Robin Hood tradition and his greenwood hideout developed into a symbol of identification for minorities aspiring to contest the kingdom's hegemony. In 1615, at Brandsby Church in North Yorkshire, Catholics staged a Robin Hood entertainment without any apparent intention of raising money for the local church. Arguably, George Pearson, a known Catholic, adopted Robin Hood as a 'Catholic hero [...] to read the tales of Robin Hood and the Sheriff as an allegory of the conflict between outlawed

¹ *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, ed. by George Elwes Corrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 208; John Foxe, *Acts and monuments* (London: 1583), p. DDD4r.

Catholicism and official Anglican authority.² Keenan proposes that Robin Hood entertainments represented 'a covert vehicle through which they could articulate and address their own religious and social discontent.'³ Keenan's suggestion that Robin Hood entertainments were used not purely for entertainment purposes but also as a political and sectarian signifier is both intriguing and plausible given the traditional political possibilities and subversive nature of the outlaw's stories.⁴

These Robin Hood performances emerge from a long tradition. The *Records of Early English Drama* (REED) reference numerous Robin Hood entertainments, such as May Games, ales and other parochial fund-raisings in the early sixteenth century. These forms of rural entertainment were culturally linked to Catholic traditions and rituals and 'became an integral part of the religious practice of many parish guilds.'⁵ In spite of the threat Robin represented to wealthy ruling classes, members of the monarchy displayed great fascination for the legendary outlaw. King Henry VIII, in particular, embraced the greenwood rebel's appeal. On May Day 1515, Henry and Catherine of Aragon passed by Shooters Hill near Greenwich Palace, where they spotted a band of archers dressed up as Robin Hood and his men. In the following pageant, the outlaws invited 'the kynge and queen to come into the grene wood & to se how the outlawes lyue.' In Robin's greenwood, the royal couple entered a 'great chamber and an inner chamber very well made & couered with floures & swete herbes.' The guests participated in archery contests and were 'serued with venyson and wyne' before the outlaws escorted them back to Greenwich with 'diuerse goodly songs' (KKK2v-KKK3r).⁶ Even though the pageant is enacted within the realm of the monarch, in proximity to his palace and even on his royal hunting grounds, the actor playing Robin led Henry and Catherine into his own separate space. Robin's greenwood is a secluded realm

² Siobhan Keenan, 'Recusant involvement in a Robin Hood play at Brandsby Church, Yorkshire, 1615', *Notes and Queries*, 47 (2000), pp. 475-478 (p. 477).

³ Ibid.

⁴ See also Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 39. Watt analyses the correlation between broadside ballads and Protestant ideology, demonstrating that Robin Hood ballads were particularly appropriated and retold by recusants.

⁵ Paul Whitfield White, *Drama and religion in English provincial society, 1485-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 46; *Somerset, Records of Early English Drama*, ed. by James Stokes (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 453.

⁶ Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies* (London: 1548); see also John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), I., pp. 98-99.

which, as it seems from Edward Hall's chronicle, even the king only entered with the outlaws' explicit permission.

As I will demonstrate throughout this chapter, the greenwood's secluded and impenetrable nature and Robin's recurring associations with Catholicism were central themes throughout the development of this tradition in early modern literary culture. In early modern England, ballads with medieval origins disseminated the tales of a Catholic outlaw who lives in a secluded and independent northern hideout. However, by the 1590s, playwrights started to modify their representation of the outlaw, overwriting his greenwood with an updated version designed with urban Protestant audiences in mind. I wish to argue that as a consequence of re-imagining Robin Hood, theatres inverted the topology of the greenwood, traditionally set in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire or Lancashire, into its homeomorphic opposites. The imagining of the northern medieval greenwood morphed from oppositional, independent and Catholic to accessible, aristocratic and Protestant in the Huntingdon plays and in *George a Greene*. However, the theatrical production of northern green space remained contested on the early modern stage. Robin's subversive and medieval Catholic traits were never fully overwritten with a homogeneous Protestantism, as will become apparent in my concluding discussion of *As You Like It*. Shakespeare's contradictory representation of the Arden greenwood addresses the residual elements of early modern England's sedimented political and religious landscape.

Literary critics and cultural anthropologists have tended to analyse parochial Robin Hood entertainments by way of Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the carnivalesque. Bakhtin refers to festive subversion and liberation as the result of temporal redistribution of a dominant function through triggered outlets of humour and chaos.⁷ Peter Stallybrass argues that Robin Hood represents the specific social process of charivari.⁸ Charivari legitimises a temporal topsy-turvy state in which official ideology and the monopoly of the legal apparatus are put into the hands of those who are usually on the other side of that monopoly. Stallybrass concludes that the elements of charivari and carnival inherent in the

⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his world*, trans. by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 10.

⁸ Peter Stallybrass, "'Drunk with the cup of liberty': Robin Hood, the carnivalesque, and the rhetoric of violence in early modern England", in *The violence of representation: literature and the history of violence*, ed. by Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 45-76 (p. 49).

Robin Hood ballads 'were central to the symbolic repertoire of political subversion in early modern Europe.'⁹ For Peter Greenfield, Robin Hood entertainments are not primarily about subversion. He suggests that the authorities co-opted Robin Hood, making him strategically legitimate for parochial fund-raising entertainments.¹⁰ Therefore, the outlaw reaffirms rather than overturns the hierarchies of authority within communities. Whether Robin Hood entertainments are subversive or reaffirming of social stratification is impossible to prove and not necessarily the point; instead, in this chapter I seek to demonstrate how throughout the 1590s Robin's northern greenwood and the religious and geographical politics his space represented were subject to continuous modification and re-writing on the early modern stage. I argue that Robin Hood ballads and May Games produce a contested northern green space which was layered with contradictory sets of meanings. On the one hand, Robin represented a medieval symbol of Catholicism and resistance, and, on the other, London's theatres intervened in the imagining of both the outlaw and his space, symbolically repositioning the greenwood under the Protestant jurisdiction of the court. The theatrical production of a contested northern space, I argue, is most apparent in *As You Like It*, which stages a sedimented greenwood which merges the binaries of Catholicism and Protestantism, of seclusion and accessibility.

Robin Hood entertainments had an irreconcilable and hybrid status in early modern England. Nevertheless, the tales were popular throughout all social classes; theatres and rural entertainments drew on the tradition in order to both confirm and challenge social and religious change. The greenwood plays and ballads produced in the 1590s were contested for reasons of seclusion and religious uncertainty. I argue that urban drama re-wrote the outlaw and his greenwood in order to limit the tradition's subversive nature and to accommodate Robin Hood's separatist northern greenwood under a homogeneous Protestant ideology. I demonstrate how touring companies, by way of exporting the modified tradition into the countryside, re-introduced their updated ideologies and politics back into the green spaces from which the ballads had originated. Localised ballads and entertainments, by contrast, represent more fluid literary strategies. Ballads

⁹ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁰ Peter H. Greenfield, 'The carnivalesque in the Robin Hood games and king of ales in southern England', in *Carnival and carnivalesque: The fool, the reformer, the wildman, and others in early modern theatre*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler and Wim Hüskens (Amsterdam: Radpoi, 1999), pp. 19-29 (pp. 20, 23).

are authored by a silent majority, constantly in flux and never fixed, disseminating a secluded and Catholic counter-space, an alternative to the theatres' aristocratic and Protestant greenwood. This in this chapter I explore how early modern Robin Hood ballads and entertainments produce the northern English countryside both as autonomous and as Catholic and I examine how the early modern stage overlaid this local and rural imagination of the greenwood with a courtly and Protestant ideology. Ballad authors and playwrights alike imagined conflicting versions of northern green space which represent irreconcilable sets of political and geographic meaning. Collectively they produced a layered topology of northern green space which simultaneously limited and affirmed the religious policies and geographical identities of England's rural north.

I. 'UNDER THE GREENWOOD TREE': THE ROBIN HOOD TRADITION IN NON-DRAMATIC GENRES

Ballads are primarily an oral tradition. Their place and date of origin cannot be conclusively determined and neither can their authorship or the melodies accompanying their performances. Ballads adapted constantly and we can today only speculate on the extent to which they evolved before somebody fixed their form in writing or print. Gordon Hall wrote that '[a]s long as ballads are alive, they are subject to change.'¹¹ 'The ballad tradition permitted the poet to alter the legend when he needed to do so', David Wiles notes, '[j]ust as it was possible for episodes to be borrowed from elsewhere.'¹² Ballads are modified by both practice and tradition. David Atkinson distinguishes between ballad-types and ballad-versions; for him, a type is a narrative 'capable of maintaining an independent existence in tradition (that is across time and space), and which can occur in different and varying manifestations, or versions.'¹³ Therefore, the manuscript or printed text is merely one of many oral versions, or derivatives of a type that have not survived. A key characteristic of ballads as folkloric texts is their fluidity and enduring oral transmission due to co-creation by the audiences.¹⁴ By necessity, modern critics must settle for 'dead' versions of ballads. However, these ballads capture an up-

¹¹ Gordon Gerould Hall, 'The making of ballads', *Modern Philology*, 21.2 (1923), pp. 15-28 (p. 21).

¹² David Wiles, *The early plays of Robin Hood* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1981), p. 44.

¹³ David Atkinson, *The English traditional ballad: theory, method, and practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

dated version, a discursive moment in history, resembling a textual still life of the timeframe they describe.

Due to the ballads' generically localised and performative nature, Christopher Hill suggested that ballads 'give us the history which commoners know, history from the commoners' point of view.'¹⁵ James Russell Lowell, J. F. Child's most important collaborator in compiling ballad manuscripts in the 1850s, wrote that ballads express 'the common mother-earth of the universal sentiment that the foot of the past must touch, through which shall steal up to heart and brain that fine virtue which puts him in sympathy, not with his class but with his kind.'¹⁶ Hill and Lowell emphasise how ballads articulate the voice of local societies. In the course of this chapter, I demonstrate how many medieval Robin Hood ballads captured the local voices of an independent and Catholic realm in northern England. Indeed, Robin Hood ballads constituted a rural and cumulative vantage point on the English countryside, a medieval vantage point which endured alongside early modern London's imagining of a Protestant and centralised northern greenwood. All the Robin Hood ballads I discuss were printed or published in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century and were still popular and in oral circulation at the time of their publication. From the moment the ballads are fixed, however, they can only legitimately be said to stem from that specific moment: the Robin Hood ballads I will juxtapose with early modern dramatic works are thus late Elizabethan or early Jacobean appropriations of originally medieval narratives.

In the sixteenth century it was commonly accepted that Robin Hood was a historical eleventh- or twelfth-century figure from the Yorkshire area.¹⁷ In the nineteenth century, Max Müller suggested that the myth arose as a disorder of language, or metaphors carried to excess.¹⁸ By the twentieth century, critics

¹⁵ Christopher Hill, 'Robin Hood', in *Robin Hood: a critical anthology of criticism*, ed. by Stephen Knight (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), pp. 285-295 (p. 288).

¹⁶ Quoted in Mary Ellen Brown, 'Child's gallant army of auxiliaries', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 43.2 (2006), pp. 89-108 (p. 94).

¹⁷ William E. Simeone, 'The historic Robin Hood', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 66.262 (1953), pp. 303-308 (pp. 303-304).

¹⁸ F. Max Müller, *The science of language: founded on lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863*, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, and co., 1891), II., p. 482; see also Adalbert Kuhn, 'Wodan', *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, 5 (1854), pp. 472-494; Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic mythology*, trans. from the 4th edn by James Steven Stallybrass, 4 vols (London: George Ball and Sons, 1900), II., p. 504. Grimm argued that '[i]n England, Robin Goodfellow seems to get mixed up with Robin Hood the archer, as Hood himself reminds us of Hôdeken; and I think that this derivation from a being of the goblin kind, and universally known to the people, is preferable to the attempted historical ones from

started seeing the origins of Robin Hood in rural deities of pre-Christian religions, linking the forest outlaw to ancient spring and fertility gods.¹⁹ Emphasising Robin's connectedness to the natural world, Wiles suggests that Robin represented an emblem of spring. The outlaw traditionally emphasises the colour green, love and fertility, thereby 'celebrat[ing] man's closeness to the natural world.'²⁰ Two conclusions can be drawn from previous criticism of the history of Robin Hood. On the one hand, the outlaw has an ingrained connection to the English countryside, developing out of springtime rites and deities of nature and fertility. On the other hand, although the tradition was regarded as historically accurate in early modern England, it retained its elusive qualities which made the tales adaptable to contemporary political concerns, as the example at Brandsby Church illustrates. 'The meaning of Robin Hood', Stallybrass argues, 'is not given in one originary moment; on the contrary, his meaning is produced and reproduced within the hegemonic process.'²¹ If Robin Hood's politics are constantly subject to reproduction, so is the imagination and theatrical production of his greenwood and any local northern policies it represents.

The tradition was transferred from ballads to May Games and eventually to professional drama in the late Elizabethan period, subsequently going through various changes and adaptations. R. B. Dobson argues that these changes had significant ramifications for the development of the tradition. The nature of Robin Hood's characterisation in the May Games remains elusive due to their local organisation at a parish or municipality level. What most May Games have in common is a variety of pastimes ranging from processional and round dances to competitive sports, Morris dances and pageants, as well as plays.²² Commonly, the games are closely tied to spring festivals and fertility rites and a May king and queen are elected to reign until Whitsuntide. Peter Burke argues that 'Robin's clothes of Lincoln green and his home in the greenwood made him an appropriate spring symbol', which is in line with the characters' possible connection to pre-

Rubertus a Saxon mass-priest, or the English Robertus knight, one of the slayers of Thomas Becket.'

¹⁹ William E. Simeone, 'The mythical Robin Hood', *Western Folklore*, 66.262 (1958), pp. 21-28 (p. 25).

²⁰ Wiles, p. 57.

²¹ Stallybrass, p. 63.

²² *Rymes of Robin Hood: an introduction to the English outlaw*, ed. by R.B. Dobson and J. Taylor, revised edition (Stroud: Sutton, 1989; repr. 1997), pp. 38-39.

Christian fertility deities.²³ Robin-Hood-themed May Games, in spite of their role as religious ritual, 'continued to function after the Reformation, although they ceased specifically Catholic observances.'²⁴ Nevertheless, Robin's Catholic origins caused unease amongst religious reformers. Philip Stubbes, a puritan pamphleteer, describes May Games as Catholic and 'deuillish exercises' in *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583). He describes how the participants withdraw into either 'the woods, and groues, some to the hils and mountains, [...] and in the morning they returne.'²⁵ It is in the empty and inaccessible spaces of the English countryside where according to Stubbes most indecencies occurred. May Games unfold in undisclosed spaces, where, as we have seen in Henry VIII's pageant, Robin Hood reigns over a secluded, lawless and implicitly Catholic space. Both Robin Hood genres, ballads and May Games, constitute local congregations and celebrate rural and local identities. In Stubbs' case, rural England is described through its propensity towards disclosed sectarian subversion.

Most Robin Hood ballads, even when the manuscripts are dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, insist on maintaining a medieval setting, usually during the reigns of Edward I or Richard I.²⁶ They describe an obsolete countryside and, as I will show, the medieval greenwood represented in the ballads serves to undermine both the court's supremacy and Protestant doctrine. By looking backwards to an older version of the northern countryside, the ballads object to the current state of affairs. They offer their readership and audiences an anachronistic, possibly even a nostalgic, alternative to sixteenth-century policies, symbolically locating resistance and subversion in an independent and Catholic northern greenwood.

²³ Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 257.

²⁴ Whitefield White, p. 46.

²⁵ *The Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. by Margaret Jane Kidnie (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 209-210.

²⁶ David C. Fowler, 'Ballads', in *A manual of the writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, ed. by Albert E. Hartung, 12 vols (New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1980), VI., pp. 1753-1808 (p. 1788).

II. 'AND IN THE FORREST OR MERRY SHEREWOOD HEREAFTER THOU SHALT BE FREE': IMAGINING THE NORTHERN COUNTRYSIDE IN THE ROBIN HOOD BALLADS

J. R. Maddicott dates the earliest surviving manuscript of *A merry Iest of Robin Hood* around 1377. In 1560 and again around 1590, however, William Copland and Edward White modernised the ballad's language and put it in print.²⁷ *A Iest* introduces most of the themes, images and plotlines the later shorter ballads sublimated and developed. Critics regard *A Iest* as the *Ur-Robin Hood* of both the medieval and the early modern period.²⁸ I will supplement my reading of *A Iest* with ballad-versions which specifically address Robin's northern space, namely *Robin Hood and the Beggar II* (Child No. 134) and *Robin Hood's Chase* (No. 146), both dated by Child before 1663 and therefore probably still in oral circulation in the late sixteenth century.²⁹ These early modern oral ballads look back at a medieval northern countryside and describe Robin's greenwood as Catholic, feudal, independent and, most worryingly for an early modern readership, as expanding. The ballads' greenwood was emphatically incongruous with the politics of the Elizabethan court and city. The 1590 publication of *A Iest*, it seems, started an unprecedented Robin Hood vogue in London in the course of which dramatists significantly modified Robin's northern hideout. Playwrights re-imagined the narratives of *A Iest* and overwrote the greenwood with a sixteenth-century variant, discursively limiting and containing any northern dissonances which dominate the ballads' medieval narratives.

A Iest consists of eight metrical sections, or 'fyttes', with a total of 456 stanzas.³⁰ The plot focuses on the yeoman Robin Hood who is outlawed for unknown reasons and chooses a life of religious sentiment and reverence to the Virgin Mary in his greenwood near Barnsdale in southern Yorkshire. The ballads

²⁷ J.R. Maddicott, 'The birth and setting of the ballads of Robin Hood', *The English Historical Review*, 93.367 (1978), pp. 276-299.

²⁸ Douglas Gray, 'Everybody's Robin Hood', in *Robin Hood: medieval and post-medieval*, ed. by Helen Phillips (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005), pp. 21-42 (p. 31); Adam Fox, *Oral and literate culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), p. 325.

²⁹ *The English and Scottish popular ballads*, ed. by J.F. Child, 5 vols (Mineola, NY: Dover; 1965, repr. 2003), III., pp. 39-233. All references to Robin Hood ballads, with the exception of *A Iest*, are taken from this most recent reprint of Child's anthology, first printed between 1882 and 1896. To date, *The English and Scottish popular ballads* remains the most authoritative collection of oral English ballads. However, Child was unconcerned about the ballads' textual or oral transmission. Instead, he chose what he thought was the oldest manuscript as the source text and included any textual variants in lengthy appendices.' Ellen Brown, 'Child's gallant army of auxiliaries', p. 90.

³⁰ *OED Online*, fit | fytte, n.1 Obs.1.

portray Robin as a character beyond any moral doubt, ‘a proud out-law | whilst he walked on the ground, | So courtesie an out-law as he was one, | was neuer none yfound’ (A1r).³¹ His greenwood first gains relevance in fyfte three: the Sheriff of Nottingham follows Little John, gets lost and is taken prisoner as soon as he leaves the paths to enter the greenwood. Robin exposes the Sheriff to the life of an outlaw but eventually releases him from captivity. Later, Robin escapes from an ambush orchestrated by the revengeful Sheriff in the fifth fyfte. Safely returned to the greenwood, Robin charges back to Nottingham to decapitate his foe. In the meantime, King Edward I is unsuccessfully searching the Barnsdale area for the outlaws. He only succeeds when a local resident points him in the right direction; disguised as a monk, the monarch enters the greenwood. Robin provides the disguised king with a feast and archery contests, and the king concludes that Robin is nobler and more virtuous than his reputation implied. When the king reveals his true identity, the outlaws are invited to serve him in London. Robin accepts, but after ‘twelue moneths and three’ he yearns for Barnsdale (G2v). The king grants him a limited leave, but Robin stays in his northern greenwood in spite of his promise. Twenty-two years later, the outlaw is betrayed and murdered by Sir Roger of Doncaster on his way to Kirkstall nunnery to be ‘letten of blood’ (G4r).

Earlier, I suggested that oral ballads articulate the voice of a local countryside. This is nowhere more obvious than in *A Iest*. The sheer amount of regional detail in the ballad’s narration implies local authorship with topographical knowledge of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire.³² When instructing his followers, Robin’s descriptions could not be more precise:

Now walke ye vp to the Salis
and so to Watling-street
and wait after some uncouth guest,
by chance some may ye meet.
[...]
They went anon vnto the Salys
these yeomen all three,
they looked East and looked West,
they might no man see
But as they looked in Bernesdale
by a deme street:
Then came there a knight riding,
full soon they gan him meet. (A2r)

³¹ *A merry Iest of Robin Hood* (London: [c.1590]).

³² Maddicott, p. 282.

Dobson and Taylor identified 'the Sayles' as 'Sayle's Plantation', a plot of ground overlooking the highway on the very northern edge of Barnsdale.³³ Similarly, J. C. Holt commented on the 'detail and the accurate representation of Barnsdale.'³⁴ Holt argues that *A Iest* originated in the Barnsdale area and that the servants of the powerful northern Lacy household disseminated the tale. Holt proves this on the basis of historical references in the text. For example, in 1322 King Edward II visited Plumpton Park to express his concern about the state of the wood and its lack of deer. Almost like a news report, *A Iest* retells this incident:

The compasse of Lankashire
he wend both farre and neere.
Till he came to Plumpton parke
He fayled many of his Deere.
There the king was wont to see
Heards many a one,
He could unneth finde any Deere
That bare any good horne. (F2r-F2r)

This section refers to a historical occurrence, Holt argues.³⁵ The incident is only thinly veiled through the Robin Hood narrative: Edward II becomes Edward I and, of course, Robin's predilection for hunting is to blame for Plumpton's shortage of deer. Development and dissemination of *A Iest* went hand-in-hand; '[p]laces, persons and incidents came into the story from Lancashire, Craven, Sherwood and Nottingham as Robin's fame spread outwards from Barnsdale.'³⁶ Ultimately, 'Robin did not originate in a municipal context', but in rural Yorkshire.³⁷ Furthermore, Barnsdale was the medieval gateway to north-eastern England through which all travellers had to pass on their way. Due to its arterial nature, Barnsdale was a notoriously dangerous site for travellers in medieval England, popular among bandits and thieves.³⁸ The reference to Watling Street and its course from east to west further emphasises the ballad's local geographical knowledge.³⁹

³³ *Rymes of Robin Hood*, p. 20.

³⁴ J.C. Holt, *Robin Hood*, 2nd edn (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), p. 91.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³⁸ *Rymes of Robin Hood*, p. 24.

³⁹ 'Watling-street' must not be confused with the Roman Watling Street from Kent to Wroxeter, via London, the modern A5. In this context, Robin is referring to a section of the Great North Road which also had the same name and ran from Ferrybridge through

Indeed, the ballad emphasises the centrality of roads and pathways, distinguishing what is on the road from what is not. *A Iest* differentiates between the road network and the erring and subversive lines in Robin Hood's greenwood. In de Certeau's words, the outlaw follows 'the trajectories [...] of other interests and desires that are neither determined nor captured by the systems in which they develop.' Such 'indirect' or 'errant' movements, or *lignes d'erre*, as I have mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, create an unmappable and counter-space.⁴⁰ Robin and his men, throughout all the ballads, only encounter non-outlaws when they go to mapped places such as Watling Street, Barnsdale, Wakefield or Nottingham. In its spatial seclusion, access is only granted to those who receive permission; within the supposedly empty spaces between the highway network, Robin Hood is not found, but he finds instead. It takes Edward I 'halfe a yere' before he finds Robin - and then only with local help (F2r).

Similarly, in *Robin Hood and the Beggar II*, the outlaws display an intimate knowledge of the countryside which none of the official representatives of governmental authority share. Tracking down a beggar who has escaped a bout with Robin, the outlaws quickly corner him:

The young men knew the country well,
So soon where he would be,
And have taken another way,
Was nearer by miles three.⁴¹

The outlaws avoid the established paths, choosing instead 'another way.' Similarly, *Robin Hood's Chase* tells the story of how Robin humiliated the king in an archery contest. The earliest printed edition dates from 1663, but the fact that the king involved and ridiculed is Henry VIII whilst he was married to Catherine suggests Tudor origins, and possibly even betrays recusant sympathies in its favourable depiction of the queen. After losing out to Robin in an archery contest, Henry swears that he will pursue the outlaw and punish him. Upon Henry's arrival in Nottingham, Robin leads him on an intrepid roundtrip through northern England, with the monarch always arriving after the outlaws have left:

Wentbridge and Barnsdale to Doncaster. Today, this section is known as the A1(M), or the Doncaster bypass. Holt, p. 85.

⁴⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. xviii.

⁴¹ *Popular ballads*, III., p. 162.

But when that Robin Hood he did hear
The king had him in chase,
Then said Little John, 'T is time to be gone,
And go to some other place.

Then away they went from merry Sherwood,
And into Yorkshire he did hie,
And the king did follow, with a hop and a hallow,
But could not come nigh.

Yet jolly Robin he passed along,
He [went] straight to Newcastle town,
And there stayed he hours two or three,
And then for Berwick was gone.

When the king did see how Robin did flee,
He was vexed wonderous sore;
With a hoop and a hallow he vowed to follow,
And take him, never give ore.

'Come now, let's away,' cries Little John,
'Let any man follow that dare;
To Carlile wee'l hie with out company,
And so then to Lancaster.'

From Lancaster then to Chester they went,
And so did king Henry;
But Robin away, for he durst not stay,
For fear of some treachery.

Saies Robin, Come, let us to London go,
To see our noble queen's face;
It may be she wants our company,
Which makes the king us so chase.⁴²

Robin's return to London is, of course, the final affront for the king. When he enquires of the queen with feigned innocence of the whereabouts of her husband, she tells him that he wanted to confront Robin in Nottingham. Robin begs for pardon and says he will meet him there immediately. When Henry finally catches up in London and is told that Robin will meet him back in Nottingham, the monarch resigns. Little John's remark of the dangerous nature of the space they are to travel through – '[l]et any man follow that dare' – is suggestive of the lawless space the outlaws traverse. Robin and John know the quickest route through the vast territory north of Nottingham and Cheshire, while Henry only limps behind. They travel off the main roads, cutting a way through a seemingly dangerous and

⁴² Ibid., pp. 206-207.

empty space which the king is obviously not familiar with. The local outlaws navigate their own interests and desires on *lignes d'erre* which traverse northern England. In fact, Robin's and John's itinerary and acquaintance with the territory suggests that Robin's greenwood represented a literary synecdoche for all of northern England.

The extent to which Robin Hood presides over undisclosed space in between the highways is also highlighted in the ballad *The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield* (Child No. 124.A). Robin and his men seek out the jolly pinder who has acquired a reputation for deciding who may enter 'Wakefield, all on the green.' The outlaw does not approach the town on the official pathway, which angers the pinder and results in the obligatory duel:

'Now turn again, turn again,' said the pinder,
'For a wrong way have you gone;
For you have forsaken the king his highway,
And made a path over the corn.'⁴³

Not only is the pinder fashioned as a town-version of Robin Hood, he reveals Robin's preferred route of travel: through the fields rather than on the 'king his highway', or the navigational network around northern England's fields. The pinder's profession, 'a person in charge of impounding stray animals', is equally evocative of Robin's tendency to stray off the usual highways and follow his own ideological desires instead.⁴⁴ I return to the pinder as a town-version of Robin Hood when I discuss *George a Greene*, which negotiates a geo-political re-positioning of the northern greenwood. I have argued that the ballads imagine the northern greenwood as a space defined by its autonomy. Robin Hood, as in his encounter with Henry VIII on Shooter's Hill, is master of this space, whilst King Edward or the Sheriff are merely of peripheral importance. Robin is king not only of an alternative and autonomous Lincoln-green realm north of Nottingham, but, as I now demonstrate, Robin's greenwood is also distinctly oppositional to the court in terms of its religious affiliation.

The space adjacent to the 'king his highway' demarcates the realm of Robin Hood; a realm in which he establishes his rules and, not unlike Stubbes' description of the May Games, contests and inverts social hierarchies. The ballad's

⁴³ Ibid., p. 131.

⁴⁴ *OED Online*, pinder, n.1.

representation of the northern greenwood marginalises the influence of the court. Furthermore, Robin's northern realm is a space of contemplation and worship. The outlaw dedicates his prayers to the Virgin Mary: 'The one in the worship of the father, | the other of the holy Ghost: | and the third was of our deere Lady, | that he loued most' (A2r). Due to the outlaw's outspoken reverence of Mary, Paul Whitefield White has called Robin a 'religious hero'.⁴⁵ I wish to develop Whitefield White's argument in order to discuss how *A Iest* compared the greenwood space to that of a Catholic monastery.

In an early episode in *A Iest*, Robin takes the Sheriff prisoner. Little John lures the Sheriff into Robin's trap, promising him a successful hunt:

I haue now be in the forrest
a faire sight can I see,
it was one of the fairest sights
that euer yet saw I me.
Yonder I see a right faire Hart
his colour is of greene,
seaven score Deere vpon a heard
be with him all by deene. (C4v)

The Sheriff cannot resist, but apparently mishears Little John's pun that the 'faire Hart' is of a green colour. What John has in mind is Robin's Lincoln or Kendal green cloak. Upon his arrival, the outlaws imprison the Sheriff. Robin's apparel and the prevailing colour of the surrounding space correlate. Stephen Knight argues that Robin, as a symbolic hart, is in his natural spatial habitat and fully immersed in the 'natural order' of the greenwood.⁴⁶ However, the Sheriff, as a foreigner, is imprisoned and coerced into wearing his own green mantle, spending the night with the outlaws under the greenwood tree:

All night lay that proud Sheriffe
in his breech and in his shirt:
No wonder it was in greene-wood
Though his sides doe smart. (C4r)

The centrality of abstemiousness and self-chastisement resonates with the ecclesiastical practices of a monastery. The monastic nature of the greenwood is most apparent when Robin describes it as an 'order', or 'a stated form of liturgical

⁴⁵ Whitefield White, p. 46.

⁴⁶ Stephen Knight, *Robin Hood: a complete study of the English outlaw* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 80.

service, or of administration of a rite of ceremony, prescribed by ecclesiastical authority'.⁴⁷

Make glad said Robin hood
Sheriffe for charity:
For this is our order ywis
under the grene-woode tree. (C4r-D1v)

The ballad imagines the space between the roads, adjacent to Watling Street and the king's highways, as both beautifully benign, but like a monastery also as uncomfortable, painful and purging. After a rough night, the Sheriff begs to leave:

This is harder order said the Sheriffe
then any ancre or frere:
for all the gold in merry England
I would not dwell long heere. (D1v)

Again, the northern greenwood is described as a 'frere', or friary, a 'covenant of friars'.⁴⁸ Continuing the monastic theme, the outlaws force the Sheriff to swear an oath, and only then is he allowed to leave Robin's green realm. However, the green space sticks to the Sheriff's body:

Now hath the Sheriffe sworne his oath
and home againe to gone
he was full of greene-wood
as euer was any man. (D1v)

Just as a sojourn in a monastery should leave a purging and improving impact on its visitor, the countryside leaves physical traces and stains on the Sheriff's body which he imports back to Nottingham. The final idiom 'as euer was any man' has changed over the centuries; in an imperfect copy from a Scottish press dated approximately in the early fifteenth century, the same passage reads: 'as euer was hepe of stone'.⁴⁹ The imagery is evocative yet inaccessible to twenty-first-century readers for a detailed interpretation. Nevertheless, both expressions reflect that the Sheriff is 'full of greene-wood', suggesting that the northern monastic space is an inherent feature of every human being, an intrinsic quality like religious belief. The ballad connects the topology of the greenwood with spiritual and ecclesiastical politics. In 1590, over five decades after Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy and the

⁴⁷ *OED Online*, order, n.16

⁴⁸ *OED Online*, friary, n.1

⁴⁹ *Popular ballads*, III., p. 66. A hepe is 'a curved pruning-knife.' *OED Online*, †hepe, n.

subsequent dissolution of the monasteries, *A Iest* insists on describing northern green space as monastic and Catholic. Indeed, in early modern England, the north in particular tended to be a safe haven for Catholic recusants. Yorkshire had a higher density of monasteries than any other county in the sixteenth century and 'the abolition of monasticism presented the region with a major problem in absorbing the former monks, canons, friars and nuns.'⁵⁰ Numerous free-roaming believers were left in hope that Catholicism would return someday. Eventually, the Sheriff leaves the greenwood as an improved human being. The Catholic greenwood has contaminated his Protestant body.⁵¹ As late as 1590, *A Iest*, a text printed and sold in the capital, imagines the empty green space in the north as opposed to central hegemony and Protestantism. *Robin Hood's Chase*, as I have mentioned above, displays sympathy for Queen Catherine of Aragon, while boldly ridiculing Henry VIII, arguably betraying recusant sympathies in its favourable depiction of the Spanish Catholic queen over the king who separated England from the Roman Catholic Church and dissolved the monasteries. Looking back at a Catholic medieval space, *A Iest* imagines the north as impenetrable for the king and autonomous in its religious beliefs.

A Iest raises issues of Catholicism and seclusion again when King Edward arrives in Yorkshire to confront the outlaws. Robin's greenwood is loyal to the king, but otherwise, the ballad describes the countryside as free from courtly authority. The greenwood rejects the monarch's 'churches' and 'rents' in favour of its own monastic spirituality.

We be yeomen of this forrest
under the greenewood tree,
We liue by our Kings Deere
other shift haue not wee.
And ye haue Churches and rents both
and good full great plenty.
Giue vs some of your spending
for Saint Charitie. (F3v)

⁵⁰ Claire Cross, 'The dissolution of the monasteries and the Yorkshire church in the sixteenth century', in *Government, religion, and society in northern England, 1000-1700*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 159-171 (p. 159).

⁵¹ For the relationship between the environment and the body, see Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., 'Introduction: inhabiting the body, inhabiting the world', in *Environment and embodiment in early modern England*, ed. by Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 1-13 (pp. 2-6). Floyd-Wilson and Sullivan emphasise the 'porousness of an early modern body that takes the environment into itself or spills out of its own bounds (or both).'

In his independent northern greenwood, Robin poaches the king's property and, the speech implies, has established his own legal and financial system, including religious institutions separate from those of the court. Independent greenwood churches, in Robin Hood's case Catholic ones, must have resonated provocatively in the 1590s, as they opposed the court's Protestant orthodoxy. The Yorkshire region is a separate, Catholic and monastic space, albeit harsh and rough. Yet, it is this harshness which produces it as genuine and original, purging and healing, establishing the mythical northern identity that the court was uneasy about.⁵² Christine Chism argues that the ballad establishes the north as largely independent and culturally as well as politically pre-eminent in respect of its southern counterpart, even outshining London.⁵³ Indeed, *A Iest* represents a movement back to an alternative reality, though not a reality sparked by an anxiety of representation, as Robert Watson argues, but rather by an unease about the northern greenwood's relation to the court and the manner in which it defines itself.⁵⁴ Ultimately, I argue that the ballads produce a heterogeneous northern countryside which is autonomous in its sovereignty and, most importantly, differs in its Christian denomination from its southern counterpart and the urban court.

I have argued that *A Iest* imagines northern England as an independent realm and as a devoutly Catholic space. I now wish to demonstrate that the ballad explores a third topological element of the greenwood which is at least as provocative as its independence and Catholicism. Throughout the ballads, the greenwood expands. *A Iest* concludes with a prank played on the population of Nottingham. The king and Robin dress up in the outlaw's emblematic green cloth and parade noisily into Nottingham:

When they were clothed in Lincoln green
 they cast a way the gray
 Now shall we to Nottingham
 all this our king can say

⁵² A.J. Pollard, 'The characteristics of the fifteenth-century north', in *Government, religion, and society in northern England, 1000-1700*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 131-144 (p. 143).

⁵³ Christine Chism, 'Robin Hood: thinking globally, acting locally in the fifteenth-century ballads', in *The letter of law: legal practice and literary production in medieval England*, ed. by Emily Steiner and Candace Barrington (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 12-40 (p. 37).

⁵⁴ Robert N. Watson, *Back to nature: the green and the real in the late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2006), pp. 3-77.

They bent their bowes and forth they went
shooting all in fere
toward the towne of Notingham
outlawes as thy [*sic*] were
Our king and Robin rode together. (G2v)

Dressed in green, which the ballads establish not only as the outlaw's livery, but also as the colour which equates the outlaw with his 'natural order', this scene rehearses a rural invasion of an urban space. The people of Nottingham react to the attack from the greenwood with panic.

All the people of Notingham
they stood and beheld,
they saw nothing but mantles of greene
that couered the field.
Then euery man together gan say
I drede our king be slone.
Come Robin hood to the towne ywis
on liue he leaueth not one.
Full hastely they began to flee
both yeomen and knaues. (G2r)

In the midst of the turmoil, the king starts laughing and the situation calms down; the outlaws organise a feast for the townspeople. This unusual episode of the ballad is unconnected to the rest of the narrative, but offers interesting insights into the overall politics of *A Iest*.

For southern listeners, Pollard explains, northern outlaw legends were situated in a 'world safely distant and not to be experienced at first hand.'⁵⁵ Yet, the ballad's feigned invasion of Nottingham displays the northern greenwood's capacity to encroach dangerously close to the borders of where the south was imagined to end, and the rural, rough and mythical north to begin. In early modern England, the River Trent marked the imaginary border between north and south in the cultural imagination.⁵⁶ In Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 1*, for example, Hotspur is promised '[t]he remnant northward lying off from Trent', should their rebellion against the monarch succeed (III.i.77).⁵⁷ Pollard argues that the north and the associations tied to that area were in fact a 'contemporary myth', but, I wish to suggest that in the narrative of the Robin Hood ballads, this mythical northern

⁵⁵ Pollard, 'The characteristics of the fifteenth-century north', p. 141.

⁵⁶ Julie Sanders, *The cultural geography of early modern drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 45.

⁵⁷ William Shakespeare, *King Henry IV, Part 1*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by David Scott Kastan (London: Thomson Learning, 2006).

counter-space threatens to expand beyond the topographical containment provided by the River Trent.⁵⁸ In *A Iest* the contemporary myth is close to imposing itself as a reality in southern England.

Most of the ballads' narratives focus on how Robin's group of yeomen outlaws expands. The set-up involves Robin meeting fellow yeomen from outside the greenwood, whom he challenges to a duel and who sooner or later join his entourage. The rural environment continuously wins new members from local provincial communities. By gradually increasing his band of outlaws and offering them food, clothing and protection, the ballads essentially create a northern feudal economy. As a consequence, Robin Hood's independent and parallel northern greenwood grows, and this marks the Sheriff's anxiety, which he brings to the king's awareness: '[Robin Hood] would be Lord and set you at naught | in all the north land' (E4r). The northern retreat becomes a seed-bed for rebellion – soon indeed, the people of the south might only see 'nothing but mantles of greene' (G2r). Indeed, Robin's wish to avoid courtly life and his preference for the greenwood is the main difference from the dramatic versions which evolved out of the ballad tradition.

Robin Hood ballads oppose personifications of authority, whether monks or centrally dispatched rulers; 'the greenwood offers an alternative social order, and an alternative "popular" law.'⁵⁹ Yet the greenwood works mostly between political binaries. The ideological ambivalences of the countryside that the ballads establish, assaulting monks yet emphatically Catholic, opposing authority yet faithful to the king, serve primarily to produce a distinctly autonomous identity, which is only secondarily political. Rather, the ballads imagine a northern green space which is disparate and opposed, fostering what Pollard calls the 'distinctive northern consciousness.'⁶⁰ The ballads not only celebrate but also entrench the '*de-facto* independence' of a predominantly feudal and rural north.⁶¹ And therein lies the concern for the court, whose ideology should bracket both halves of the English nation. I argue that the greenwood as imagined in *A Iest* threatens to spread its Catholic subversion beyond its boundaries. While the greenwood spans the entire

⁵⁸ Pollard, 'The characteristics of the fifteenth-century north', p. 143.

⁵⁹ A.J. Pollard, 'Political ideology in the English stories of Robin Hood', in *Outlaws in medieval and early modern England*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Stroud: Sutton, 2009), pp. 111-129 (p. 127).

⁶⁰ Pollard, 'The characteristics of the fifteenth-century north', p. 139.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

region north of Nottingham in *Robin Hood's Chase*, in *A Iest* Robin's space expands southward. The ballad imagines the northern countryside as Catholic and independent. For an early modern Protestant readership, the northern counter-space insinuates itself uneasily alongside a hegemonic Protestant space. The ballad images the greenwood expanding beyond the River Trent, while Catholicism and dissent slip into the south, closer to London and the court.

III. 'DOST THOU NOT SEE ROBINS AMBITIOUS PRIDE': THE HUNTINGDON PLAYS AND THE PROTESTANT RE-IMAGINATION OF THE GREENWOOD

Child speculated whether the eighteenth-century manuscript of *Robin Hood and the Valiant Knight* (Child No. 153) was composed 'because it was thought that authority should in the end be vindicated against outlaws'.⁶² The ballad narrates how the king and his bishops have had enough of Robin Hood's liberties and conspire to have him murdered. After Robin's death, the ballad announces that England will never again have to endure the threat of a northern outlaw:

These northern parts he vexed sore.
Such outlaws as he and his men
May England never know again!⁶³

This ballad is an example of how the tradition changed over the centuries. In *Robin Hood and the Valiant Knight*, the protagonist is no longer 'a good outlaw | [who] did poore men much good', as in *A Iest* (G3r). Instead Robin has 'vexed sore' the 'northern parts', threatening England's stability with an alternative northern realm. I now turn my attention to the impact the professional stage had on the tradition. I demonstrate the range of responses and attempts at discursively containing *A Iest's* expanding Catholic green space. Prior to 1590, Robin Hood ballads were mostly a retrospective rural phenomena, producing independent, medieval and Catholic green spaces. In the 1590s, London theatres appropriated and modified the greenwood's topology. I argue that the theatres' inversion of the tradition's space represents a literary strategy to contain the northern counter-space and the distinctive northern consciousness which the ballads disseminated.

⁶² *Popular ballads*, III., p. 225.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

Accordingly, playwrights inverted the contested elements of the ballads' imagining of the northern greenwood.

At least six plays explored, expanded or retold themes which originated in *A Iest*. *The Pleasant Pastoral Comedy of Robin Hood and Little John*, now lost, was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1594.⁶⁴ Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle introduced unprecedented innovations to the tradition in *The Downfall Of Robert, Earle of Huntingdon* and its sequel *The Death Of Robert, Earle of Hvntingdon*, both performed around 1597-1599 and printed in 1601. It is widely acknowledged that Munday and Chettle also collaborated on *Looke About You* (c.1597-1599), which was published anonymously in 1600, but performed after the two Huntingdon plays had premiered. This suggests that both *The Downfall* and *The Death* were popular and financially lucrative plays.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the anonymous *A Pleasant Conceyted Comedie of George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield* and William Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, both of which I discuss in this chapter, address themes closely related to the Robin Hood tradition. Numerous plays performed in the 1590s also contain references and allusions to the outlaw, as is the case in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 2* (c.1597-1598), when Justice Silence reminisces about old times by singing about 'Robin Hood, Scarlet and John' (V.iii.100), and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (c.1593-1594), when the forest outlaws adopt Valentine as their leader: 'By the bare scalp of Robin Hood's fat friar, | This fellow were a king for our wild faction!' (IV.i.36-37).⁶⁶ Similarly, George Peele's *Edward I* dedicates entire scenes to a Welsh Robin Hood. I will return to Peele's play when I discuss the Welsh dimension of green space in the final chapter of this thesis.

Malcolm Nelson suggests that 'many Elizabethan playgoers would have seen a Robin Hood play or May Game at some time in their lives. It would therefore be

⁶⁴ *A transcript of the registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.*, ed. by Edward Arber, 5 vols (London: Privately printed, 1875-1894), II., p. 649.

⁶⁵ Malcolm A. Nelson, 'The Earl of Huntingdon: the Renaissance plays', in *Robin Hood: an anthology of scholarship and criticism*, ed. by Stephen Knight (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), pp. 99-121 (p. 103). Arguably, Munday and Chettle collaborated on a fourth Robin Hood play in late 1599. Payments recorded in Henslowe's diary suggest that the authors collaborated on a lost play called *The Funerall of Richard Cvrdelion*. *Henslowe's diary*, ed. by R.A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 91.

⁶⁶ William Shakespeare, *The Second Part of King Henry IV*, The Arden Shakespeare Second Series, ed. by A.R. Humphreys (London: Methuen, 1981); William Shakespeare, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by William C. Carroll (London: Thomson Learning, 2004).

profitable to create professional plays to satisfy this taste.⁶⁷ Indeed, financial aspects are not to be neglected when looking for the origins of London's Robin Hood vogue. Yet I wish to suggest that there were also political motivations to re-write the subversive representations of the northern countryside for a contemporary Protestant audience on the London stage. I argue that an uprising in Oxfordshire inspired an ontological shift in the perception of rural outlaws and the countryside. Consequently, Munday and Chettle re-modelled the greenwood outlaw as a Protestant aristocrat. The plays connect the northern greenwood to signifiers of the court and of Protestantism, thereby staging a contained homeomorphic alternative to the ballads' secluded and Catholic north.

Philip Henslowe, impresario and owner of the Rose theatre, paid Munday and Chettle in two instalments for their Huntingdon plays. On 15 and 22 February 1598 Henslowe paid a total of ten shillings.⁶⁸ In late 1596, just over a year before the Huntingdon stories were sold to Henslowe, rural disturbances occurred in Oxfordshire. The unrest was anticlimactic as the revolt never actually materialised, but it was, as historians argue, perceived as a close call and I wish to suggest that the events eventually filtered into the collaborators' Huntingdon plays.

In 1596, England faced its third successive year of harvest failure. As so often when rural tensions rose, the monarch sent aristocratic landowners back to their estates to keep a watchful eye over the countryside.⁶⁹ The middle of the last decade of the Elizabethan period marked unrest in many rural areas, leading Roger Manning to identify it as a 'late Elizabethan epidemic of disorder.'⁷⁰ For example, an anonymous letter handed to the authorities in Norwich warned the magistrates that 'some barbarous and unmerciful soldier shall lay open your hedges, reap your fields, rifle your coffers and lever your houses to the ground', while in Somerset it was said that 'before the yeare went about ther wolde be old threshshing owt of mowes & Cuttynge of throatts.'⁷¹ Nothing followed these threats, but by autumn 1596, James Bradshaw and Bartholomew Steer had planned their own rebellion in

⁶⁷ Nelson, p. 99. See also Hill, p. 291.

⁶⁸ *Henslowe's diary*, pp. 86-87.

⁶⁹ John A. Walter, "'A rising of the people?': the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596', *Past & Present*, 107 (1985), pp. 90-143 (p. 101).

⁷⁰ Roger B. Manning, *Village revolts: social protest and popular disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 200-210. See also Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor rebellions*, revised 5th edition (London: Pearson, 2008), pp. 17-116.

⁷¹ Quoted in Walter, p. 91.

Oxfordshire. The aim was to attack landowners and create a nationwide rebellion; 'they would go to London. And [...] when the prentices heare that wee bee upp, they will Come and Joine with us'.⁷² As soon as the rebels had armed themselves, their objective was to go 'with all speede towards London.'⁷³ Steer and Bradshaw tried to win public approval and support for their cause, drawing up a future where the locals 'neede not to worke, nor take nay care for Corne this deere yeare', for they would 'pull the corne out of the Rich men's barnes.'⁷⁴ Steer's and Bradshaw's postulations promised a rural cornucopia resembling that of Robin Hood's greenwood in *A Iest*: 'Bread and wine they had enough | and numbles of the Deere' (A3r). *A Iest* portrays the greenwood as a land of plenty provided for by goods stolen from the wealthy. Like the famous ballad outlaw, Steer and Bradshaw strove to abolish work and harvesting duties. They would take from the rich and give to the hungry.

In spite of their efforts, the Oxfordshire Rising never gained the momentum its leaders had envisaged. When Bradshaw and Steer met on 17 November, nobody joined them; instead, Lord Norris obtained intelligence of their intentions and arrested them. The rebels were deported to London and, after a series of high-profile trials, hanged on 11 June 1598. The Oxfordshire Rising failed on all counts, but it left a discursive impact on London and the court, which, John Walter argues, was ultimately more substantial than was warranted by the actual occurrences.⁷⁵ The inquisitors anxiously attempted to connect the ringleaders with either 'Egipcians' (a group of eighty 'gypsies' were taken prisoner in Northamptonshire on the eve of the rebellion) or ex-soldiers, both representatives of rural free-roamers which caused concerns in the 1590s.⁷⁶ Londoners were uncomfortable about the undercover information and support the rebels were said to have gained from within the city. Apparently, the rebels employed a market network to disseminate their message, but also relied on fairs and kinship; coachmen travelling to London promised to establish contact with the apprentices who would support the periphery's overthrow of the capital and court.⁷⁷ The surviving Robin Hood plays were written at this time of discursive and political anxiety; they

⁷² Ibid., p. 107.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 101.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 100.

⁷⁵ Walter, p. 139.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 127.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 105.

convert Robin's green space into something less disruptive and more ideologically conforming than the greenwood of the ballads.⁷⁸

I have suggested that the Oxfordshire rebels negotiated a similar fantasy to that of the ballads' greenwood. Notions of free and unrestrained movement in the countryside, as well as the understanding that the rich deserve to be attacked and killed in order to feed those in need, are ever-present themes in both the rebels' manifestos and the Robin Hood ballads of the sixteenth century. Indeed, ballads glorifying an outlaw's economic independence and flouting of authority would have endowed such uprisings with symbolic support. However, the Huntingdon plays, written as they were in the late 1590s in aftermath of the rebellion and the trials, withdrew that symbolic support. I wish to argue that Munday and Chettle imagine the rural northern topology as deliberately incompatible with that of the ballads. Instead, Munday's and Chettle's hero is a Protestant aristocrat.

Richard Grafton, a sixteenth-century historian, introduced a hitherto unrecorded convulsion to the tale, which undermined the 'gentle theefe' tradition of *A Iest* and had a tangible impact on the theatrical retellings of the story:

But in an olde and auncient Pamphlet I finde this written of the sayd Robert Hood. This man (sayth he) discended of a noble parentage: or rather beyng of a base flocke and lineage, was for his manhooe and chivalry aduanced to the noble dignitie of an Earl, excelling principally in Archery, or shootyng, his manly courage agreeyng thereunto: But afterwarde he so prodigally exceeded in charges and expenses, that he fell into great debt, whereof, so many actions and sutes were commenced against him, whereunto he answered not, that by order of lawe he was outlawed [...] and occupied and frequented the forestes or wilde Counties. (H2v)⁷⁹

Grafton's historiography moves Robin Hood into 'wilde Counties' due to the consequences of his prodigal lifestyle. In the ballads, the reason behind Robin's ostracism remained unmentioned, but in Grafton's *Chronicle*, Robin is transformed into an illegal and unsympathetic scoundrel, whose incentive to take from the rich and give to the poor is not based on levelling motives. Grafton remodels the pre-Christian deity of spring, fertility and nature into an aristocratic bandit. Munday's and Chettle's Robin Hood plays follow a similar trajectory. The Huntingdon plays

⁷⁸ Meredith Skura, 'Anthony Munday's "gentrification" of Robin Hood', *English Literary Renaissance*, 33.2 (2003), pp. 155-180 (p. 156). By contrast, Skura argues that shifts in the social composition of London were responsible for the transformation of Robin Hood into a nobleman.

⁷⁹ Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle* (London: 1569).

denote a literary strategy of discursive containment for the outlaw in the wake of rural rebellion, and accordingly imagine a different greenwood than in one of the ballads. In the *Huntingdon* plays the northern greenwood is contained and subservient, while reflecting a distinctly Protestant and courtly ideology.

In *The Downfall Of Robert, Earle of Huntingdon* the protagonist is under pressure from multiple agents. His steward Warman and his uncle the Prior of York are plotting to claim his wealth. Prince John, about to usurp the throne while his brother Richard I is on a crusade, is enamoured with Robert's fiancée Matilda, while John's mother, the Queen of England, lusts after Robert. Eventually, John promotes Warman to Sheriff of Nottingham and ostracises Robert. In his greenwood hideout Robert calls himself Robin Hood and Matilda is now known as Marian. The couple are joined by his followers and by a young girl called Jinny. As a consequence of his inability to curtail Robin's outlawry, Warman eventually loses his position as Sheriff and surprisingly joins the outlaws in the greenwood. When Prince John hears of his brother's imminent return from Jerusalem, he also seeks refuge in the greenwood where he is forgiven. When Richard I returns to England, Robin is restored to his wealth and lands and all are pardoned.

The Death Of Robert, Earle of Hvntingdon follows on from where the action in *The Downfall* ended, but shifts its focus onto Matilda. Unfortunately for Robin, the villains' greenwood conversion proves to be only temporary. By the end of act one, the Prior of York and John poison Robin and the latter ascends the throne after Richard's death. In the ensuing civil war, Matilda is subjected to numerous solicitations. But she retains her virtue and rejects John until he has her poisoned. However, when John is confronted with Matilda's mortal remains, he regrets all his crimes. The oppositional Lords are reconciled to the king and John's reign is confirmed.

This synopsis makes it apparent that Robin is no longer a true outlaw, but rather a nobleman playing an outlaw, even renaming himself and his fiancée to play the part. I now demonstrate that the authors' choice to name their fictional outlaw after the Earl of Huntingdon resonates with political changes in the fifteenth-century north. Claire Cross' history of Henry Hastings, the third Earl of Huntingdon (1536-1595) reveals a range of parallels between the historic earl and Munday's and Chettle's fictional outlaw, which leads me to suggest that the playwrights remodelled Robin Hood specifically after this late earl. Huntingdon

was Lord President of the North, 'the most powerful royal official in the north of England.'⁸⁰ His jurisdiction roughly encompassed the area north of the Trent, the area over which Robin Hood presides in the ballads. Huntingdon's task was to establish sustainable peace agreements in the wake of the Northern Rebellion. He succeeded by establishing a ruthless system of surveillance and by replacing influential northern families with Protestant gentlemen. Huntingdon also reduced the region's economic poverty by establishing charitable institutions. At the time of his death in 1595, Huntingdon had ensured that the north's 'local particularism could never again threaten the peace of the whole of the country.'⁸¹ He purged the region of recusancy, hunting down Catholic priests and introducing a purified Protestant Church.⁸² In other words, Huntingdon's geographic position and his politics of charity enabled Munday and Chettle to equate the historic earl with Robin Hood. The historic third Earl of Huntingdon's northern policies, his surveillance and Protestantism, are negotiated in the Huntingdon plays which, as I argue, re-wrote the greenwood as aristocratic and Protestant.⁸³ Accordingly, in *The Death* Robin is criticised by his later assassins for 'abus[ing] a thieues name and an outlawes' (B2v).⁸⁴ Robin Hood's gentrification is further developed in the disguise comedy *Looke About You*, where Robin never even sets foot in the greenwood. Instead, he is Prince Richard's proxy wooer in an illicit romance with Lady Faukenbridge. However, as in the ballads, the aristocratic Robin upholds the sanctity of marriage and virtue and together with Lady Faukenbridge, who is confusingly also called 'Marian', makes a mockery of the lecherous Prince (B3v).⁸⁵

The Oxfordshire Uprising occurred not long before Munday and Chettle started contemplating two full-scale Robin Hood productions. The dramatic

⁸⁰ Claire Cross, *The puritan earl: the life of Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, 1536-1595* (London: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 159-161.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 199.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 236-245.

⁸³ David Bevington argues that the company's Protestant agenda is reflected in its equation of Robin Hood with the third Earl of Huntingdon. David M. Bevington, *Tudor drama and politics: a critical approach to topical meaning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 295. However, Stephen Knight identifies traces of the character in an earlier Earl of Huntingdon from the 1190s, who openly rejected English authority. Knight, p. 131. Neither Bevington nor Knight consulted Cross' monograph on the third Earl of Huntingdon. Therefore, they do not address the socio- and geo-political similarities between the historic earl and those discussed in the Huntingdon plays.

⁸⁴ [Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle], *The Death Of Robert, Earle Of Hvntingdon* (London: 1601).

⁸⁵ *A Pleasant Commodity, Called Looke about you* (London: 1600)

resonances of the uprising are present in *The Downfall*, most prominently when John defends his property upon Robin's banishment:

JOHN Warman stand off, tit tattle, tel not me what ye can do:
 The goods I say are mine, and I say true.
 [...]
 What iustice is there you should search my trunkes,
 Or stay my goods, for that my master owes? (B4r-v)⁸⁶

The speech raises questions about ownership and to what extent authorities may seize upon goods people depend on. John's resistance resonates with Steer's and Bradshaw's vision of a life without taxes. Furthermore, the speech touches on the practice of depopulation and property enclosure which many saw as the source of the famine in the first place. Like the rebels, John threatens violence to those who ignore his understanding of 'iustice.'

By collapsing the historic earl with the Robin Hood tradition, the playwrights redistribute the northern greenwood into the hands and the control of peerage. The space between the highway network, Robin's realm in the ballads, is appropriated by way of a dramatic spatial re-imagining which brings it under the court's gaze. The play fills the greenwood with a royal confidant who harnesses the unease the countryside projected unto London after the failed uprising – Robert and Matilda entitle themselves aristocratic 'Sovereigns' of their greenwood realm ranging from 'Barnesdales shrogs, to Nottinghams red cliffs' (E4r-F1r). Consequently, the play dissolves what Pollard called the 'distinctive northern consciousness', the sense of northern separateness and Catholicism, from the greenwood. Both the outlaw and his space are symbolically contained in response to the untraceable and potentially subversive movements, the *lignes d'erre* following their own desires in the green spaces and revealed in the aftermath of the Oxfordshire Rising. Indeed, by way of making Robin a historic earl who contained the north's 'local particularism', the playwrights co-opted both the outlaw and his northern greenwood 'for social and cultural officialdom' and 'reworked his content along rational and hierarchical lines consistent with the cultural and social norms of the Elizabethan elite.'⁸⁷

⁸⁶ [Anthony Munday and Henry Chettle], *The Downfall Of Robert, Earle of Huntingdon* (London: 1601).

⁸⁷ Jeffry L. Singman, 'Munday's unruly earl', in *Playing Robin Hood: the legend as performance in five centuries*, ed. by Lois Potter (Newark: University of Delaware, 1998), pp. 63-76.

If the greenwood in the ballads had natural features inherent in its description such as birds, trees, deer, sunshine and tranquillity in addition to its harshness, the greenwood in the plays is described by way of its resemblance to the court. If the ballads imagined the greenwood as a beautiful and equitable environment, the Huntingdon plays imagine it through anthropomorphic similes as intrinsically courtly.

ROBIN Marian, thou seest though country pleasures want,
 Yet courtly sort, in Sherewood is not scant:
 For the soule-rauishing delicious sound
 Of instrumentall musique, we haue found
 The winged quiristers, which diverse notes,
 Sent from their quaint recording prettie throats,
 On euery branch that compasseth vs each bower.
 For Arras hanging, and rich Tapestry,
 We haue sweet natures best imbrothery.
 For thy steele glasse, wherein thou wontst to looke,
 Thy Christall eyes, gaze in a Christall brooke. (F1v-F2r)

Sherwood offers its inhabitants courtly comforts such as music, tapestries and mirrors. The greenwood, Robin states, is of a 'courtly sort.' If the plays were not about a famous outlaw from the north, the setting of the scene would be thoroughly ambiguous. By the end of *The Downfall*, King Richard lives in the woods with Robin. Together they hunt deer no longer to feed the outlaws, but for sport. Contrary to the ballads, the aristocratic Robin does not poach on the king's deer illegally. The monarch no longer gets lost in northern England, either. Instead, the play makes both the functionalised grid of routes uniform with Robin's individual *lignes d'erre* uniform, incorporating the Yorkshire region firmly into the kingdom. Indeed, not only do the Huntingdon plays open the northern greenwood up for the royal gaze, they also, as I now argue, overwrote the north's residual Catholicism.

Throughout the plays, Jinny is mainly preoccupied with tidying the greenwood. The image of a well-kept green space not only underlines the greenwood's ordered courtliness, representing a Mannerist gardenscape in which one can 'set each thing in frame', but also hints at the space's religious modification (*Death*, A2v).

JINNY Forsooth, I strawed the dining bowers.
 And smooth'd the walkes with hearbes & flowers,
 The yeomen tables have a spread,
 Drest salts, laid trenchers, set on bread:

Nay all is well I warrant you. (*Death*, C1r)

Contrary to the greenwood idleness and spirituality of the ballads, labour and the maintenance of the greenwood garden are an intrinsic part of life in Robin's theatrical hideout. When Robin and Little John settle down in the greenwood in *The Downfall*, they establish the rules all outlaws must adhere to. Rule number three is of particular interest:

JOHN Thirdly no yeoman, following Robin Hoode
 In Sherewood, shall use widowe, wife, or maid,
 But by true labour, lustfull thoughts expell. (F1v)

I have argued that in the ballads, the space between the roads embraces a lawless and recusant status, emphasising the spiritually monastic environment of northern green space. Munday's greenwood, albeit similarly abstemious, replaces the ballads' emphasis on spiritual contemplation and devotion to the Virgin Mary with worshipping women through 'true labour.' Jennifer Summit has demonstrated how rural geography is a product of the Reformation rather than the Renaissance. She concludes that chorographers since the Henrician schism have overwritten rural space with Protestant versions, creating a 'sedimented history'. Rural England was 'forcibly remade, its formerly sacred spaces actively converted, like its inhabitants, to support new structures of belief and government.'⁸⁸ 'The physical environment', Alexandra Walsham adds, 'served as both a mirror and a motor of religious change.'⁸⁹ By overwriting idleness with 'true labour', I argue that the northern greenwood is re-imagined as a Protestant space on the early modern stage, reflecting a historical early modern phenomenon which Max Weber, a sociologist and economist, would later term the emergence of the Protestant work ethic. Weber argued that the dissolution of the monasteries and the rise of new Protestant religions marked the moment when 'asceticism moved out of the monastic cell and into working life, and began to dominate innerworldly [*innerweltlich*] morality, it helped to build that mighty cosmos of the modern

⁸⁸ Jennifer Summit, 'Leland's *Itinerary* and the remains of the medieval past', in *Reading the medieval in early modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 159-176 (pp. 160-169).

⁸⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the landscape: religion, identity, and memory in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 14.

economic order.’⁹⁰ The disintegration of monastic spirituality led the individual to transfer the asceticism of the monasteries into everyday life and daily occupations. The individual’s capacity for work replaced monastic spirituality and contemplation. Leading a diligent life dedicated to the hardships of labour became more than a mode of life; it developed into a way of celebrating existence and expressing gratefulness to God. Consequently, the individual pursues a secular life with as much zeal and productivity as possible. For Thomas Aquinas, spiritual work, prayer and contemplation, constituted a legitimate form of productivity, or a ‘regular exercise of practical reason.’⁹¹ However, post-schism English Protestantism, Weber argues, encouraged ‘only action, not idleness and indulgence, that serves to increase [God’s] glory.’⁹² Jinny’s maintenance of the greenwood garden replaces the ballads’ monastic greenwood spirituality; gardening, Roy Strong suggest, was an aid to Protestant devotion.⁹³ In the ballads, spiritual work is commonplace, as is idleness and recreation, but this is not the case in the Huntingdon plays. We have arrived, I suggest, at the distinguishing characteristic between the ballads’ greenwood, which looks back towards a medieval north in which monasteries were a dominant spatial component, and Munday’s and Chettle’s homeomorphic greenwood, re-imagined for contemporary early modern audiences and ideologies. When read against the backdrop of the ballads, I argue that *The Downfall* and *The Death* imagine an emerging Protestant countryside. Absorbing the transformations of the popular tradition, the collaborators describe a Protestant space; the plays contribute to a re-imagining of the landscape and what Walsham calls the ‘motor for religious change.’ If in *A Iest* the greenwood is a site of Catholicism’s worship of the Virgin Mary, the Huntingdon plays re-imagine the ballads’ counter-space under a Protestant ideology. The collaborators overwrote the contemporary ballad folklore with a new layer, accommodating Robin’s northern greenwood under a Protestant ideology. If the historic earl purged the north of recusancy and its oppositional

⁹⁰ Max Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the ‘spirit’ of capitalism*, ed. and trans. by Peter Baehr and Gordon C. Wells (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 120; Max Weber, *Die Protestantische Ethik I*, ed. by Johannes Winkelmann (Munich: Siebenstern, 1969), p. 186.

⁹¹ Brian Davies, ‘Prayer’, in *The Oxford handbook of Aquinas*, ed. by Brian Davies and Eleonore Stump (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 467-474 (p. 470). See also Eleonore Stump, *Aquinas* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 152-154.

⁹² Weber, p. 106.

⁹³ Roy Strong, *The Renaissance garden* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979; repr. 1998), p. 206.

nature, then the Huntingdon plays perform similar cultural work by adding a Protestant and aristocratic layer to the theatrical production of the northern greenwood.

Munday and Chettle responded to the Oxfordshire Rising by inverting the topology of the northern countryside, re-signifying Robin's rebellious greenwood with an aristocratic version of the outlaw and staging a space which is described by way of Protestant values. *George a Greene*, another adaptation of the popular legend, takes a different approach at re-positioning the northern greenwood. The play addresses a distinct understanding of northern localism.⁹⁴ Registered for performance in 1595, but only published after the Oxfordshire Rising in 1599, *George a Greene* negotiates the geo-politics the inhabitants of northern green space should adopt in relation to the kingdom as a whole. The play promotes a novel 'northern consciousness' which ultimately reflects loyalty to the urban-court and the rejection of outlaws akin to Robin Hood.

IV. 'LAY WASTE THEIR BORDERING COUNTIES': *GEORGE A GREEN* AND THE LOYALTY OF YORKSHIRE

In Cornwall, regular Robin Hood entertainments were recorded at both St. Ives between 1585 and 1591 and at St. Columb Minor, where the Churchwarden's Accounts mention two payments in 1594-1595 to 'Robyn hoodes players.' The records demonstrate that non-professional Robin Hood plays were more than just parish-specific entertainments. The St. Briocus Churchwardens' Accounts in Lezant, in eastern Cornwall, recount a performance of a Robin Hood entertainment in 1590-1591:

Item given by Consent of the parish vnto the players of Robyn Hood
that Came from St. Cullombe the Lower v s.⁹⁵

This payment receipt offers two possibilities for interpretation. Conceivably, the receipt refers to local players based in St. Columb who tour eastern Cornwall. However, the players might equally be a professional London-based group, touring the southwest of England with an unknown or lost Robin Hood play. St. Columb

⁹⁴ Edmund K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford, Clarendon, 1923; repr. 2009), IV., pp. 14-15. Handwritten notes on a seventeenth-century quarto suggest an authorship involving Robert Greene.

⁹⁵ *Cornwall*, Records of Early English Drama, ed. by Sally L. Joyce and Evelyn S. Newlyn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 507.

Minor is about 40 miles from Lezant on the medieval road passing through the parish en route from Land's End to Exeter. Travelling that specific route would have been fairly straightforward for any touring company.

In favour of a professional London-based touring group is the fact that companies often resorted to travelling by sea to reach their destination.⁹⁶ A London company might have arrived at St. Columb or near St. Ives by boat and then travelled towards Exeter, also performing in Lezant and Launceston, all of which were documented performance sites in the 1590s.⁹⁷ The entry refers to the company as 'players', which suggests a theatrical work and rules out local May Games or other fund-raising entertainments. Suchlike conjectures reveal that Robin Hood entertainments were not exclusively a local phenomenon, but that parishes welcomed external travelling Robin Hood performers. 'An artistic culture', Mark Brayshay argues, "was being constructed across England that sometimes intersected with, and sometimes overlaid older, local and regional forms of entertainment."⁹⁸ This observation opens up the door for speculations about whether the Earl of Sussex's Men took *George a Greene* with them when touring the countryside. Sally-Beth MacLean's analysis of travelling itineraries and destinations reveals that touring groups visited boroughs and villages as far north as Carlisle, Newcastle and Kendal.⁹⁹ Erika Lin has observed how *George a Greene* absorbed elements of popular parish entertainments, seeking 'not to differentiate itself from parish revels, but to increase audience engagement by capitalizing on their similarities.'¹⁰⁰ In other words, *George a Greene* would have been a popular play in parishes beyond London because of its references to parish customs and, most importantly for my purposes, its engagement with a revised local northern consciousness.

⁹⁶ Peter H. Greenfield, 'Touring', in *A new history of early English drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 251-269 (pp. 261-262).

⁹⁷ Barbara D. Palmer, 'Early modern mobility: players, payments, and patrons', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56.3 (2005), pp. 259-305 (p. 263); Sally-Beth MacLean, 'Touring routes: "provincial wanderings" or traditional circuits?', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 6 (1993), pp. 1-14 (p. 5).

⁹⁸ Mark Brayshay, 'Waits, musicians, bearwards, and players: the inter-urban road travel and performance of itinerant entertainers in sixteenth and seventeenth century England', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31 (2005), pp. 430-458 (p. 433).

⁹⁹ MacLean, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Erika Lin, 'Popular festivity and the early modern stage: the case of *George a Greene*', *Theatre Journal*, 61.2 (2009), pp. 271-297 (p. 296).

Theatre groups frequented the main highways in England and Wales throughout the sixteenth century, establishing a network of performance sites.¹⁰¹ This network spread out from London into the kingdom and was co-opted for political purposes. Scott McMillin's and MacLean's study of the repertory and routes of the Queen's Men argues that the company was a likely component of Francis Walsingham's administration between 1583 and 1595. The company's tours had their purpose in unifying the vast English countryside, particularly its areas of resistance, such as the north and its pockets of residual Catholicism. The company should evoke the impression of a 'watchful monarch' who had her gaze firmly set on the countryside.¹⁰² Similarly, I argue that *George a Greene* re-imagined the mythic northern consciousness and, if exported either by way of touring groups or play texts after its publication, would have affected the political fabric of the countryside in which the plays were performed in.

Unfortunately, the plays the companies brought with them are rarely recorded. In 1593 the Admiral's Men staged a lost play called *Harry of Cornwall* at Bristol and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (1587-1588) in Shrewsbury.¹⁰³ Andrew Gurr argues that two factors decided which plays were performed on tour. The selected play should not require too elaborate staging techniques and should have already secured monetary success in London. I wish to add a third one: the play should certainly also have a topical appeal to non-London audiences, as Erika Lin implies is the case with *George a Greene*. This argument applies in particular to *Harry of Cornwall*, which was of relevance to the West Country region given its eponymous character. *REED* demonstrates the vast extent to which Robin Hood entertainments and ballads have been popular all over England for many decades. I wish to suggest that Sussex's Men, and perhaps also the Admiral's Men, were likely to have performed their Robin Hood plays when touring the north, catering to an established regional popularity while staging a new northern consciousness for the local population.

George a Greene, I argue, negotiates a northern green space which serves the court and re-imagines the geo-political function of the northern greenwood. The

¹⁰¹ Alan Somerset, "'How chances it they travel?': provincial touring, playing places, and the King's men", *Shakespeare Survey*, 47 (1994), pp. 45-60 (p. 60); Palmer, pp. 261-275.

¹⁰² Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 27-28.

¹⁰³ Andrew Gurr, *Shakespeare's opposites: the Admiral's company, 1594-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 75.

play is part retelling, part expansion of the ballad *Robin Hood and the Jolly Pinder of Wakefield*, which I have referred to earlier in this chapter. In the ballad, George is in charge of the town of 'Wakefield, all on the green' where he alone grants travellers permission to enter.¹⁰⁴ The theme of rural surveillance is taken up in the play but expanded significantly for political purposes. The plot focuses on George's rise to fame and culminates in the infamous duel with Robin Hood. In fact, the play introduced a northern outlaw who echoes Grafton's aristocratic bandit. At an early stage of the play, the audience is introduced to the Earl of Kendal. Kendal's ambitions materialise in the first speech.

KENDALL	Welcome to Bradford, martiall gentlemen, L. Bonfild, & sir Gilbert Armstrong both, And all my troupes, euen to my basest groome, Courage and welcome, for the day is ours: Our cause is good, it is for the lands auayle: Then let vs fight, and dye for Englands good.
OMNES	We will, my Lord.
KENDALL	As I am <i>Henrie Momford</i> , Kendals Earle, You honour me with this assent of yours, And here vpon my sword I make protest, For to relieue the poor, or dye my selfe[.] (A2r-v) ¹⁰⁵

There are three reasons to read Kendal as a re-writing of the Robin Hood character. Firstly, he congregates with his band of rebels in Bradford, West Yorkshire, the northern regions of England which Robin has been closely associated with ever since *A Iest*. Secondly, the author's choice to make the rebel leader the Earl of Kendal carries similar resonances. Throughout *A Iest*, Robin's livery colour was Lincoln green; accordingly when King Edward plays his prank on Nottingham, 'they were clothed in Lyncolne grene' (G2r). Kendal, a parish in Cumbria, was famous for the colour green and is recorded since the 1380s as a species of green woollen cloth.¹⁰⁶ The hue is associated to Robin in *The Downfall*; Prince John dreads Sherwood, as it is 'full of Outlawes, that in Kendall greene, | Followe the outlawed earle of Huntingdon' (H4r). Thirdly, Kendal's objectives echo those of the greenwood outlaw. He will 'relieue the poor' and fight for 'Englands good.'

¹⁰⁴ *Popular ballads*, III., p. 131.

¹⁰⁵ *A Pleasant Conceyted Comedie of George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield* (London: 1599).

¹⁰⁶ *OED Online*, Kendal, n.[†]1.a.

The Earl of Kendal represents a generic version of a rural insurgent, which became all the more evocative after 1596. Like Steer and Bradshaw, Kendal seeks the periphery's support against the court. 'Well, hye thee to Wakefield, bid the Towne | To send me all prouision that I want' (A3v). Similarly, in the course of the play the locals do not join the rebellion. *George a Greene* negotiates the potential of a rural led rebellion. Essentially, there is an important difference between Kendal and the ballads' Robin Hood:

[KENDALL] for if I winne, Ile make thee Duke:
 I Henry Momford will be Kinge my selfe,
 And I will make thee Duke of Lancaster,
 And Gilbert Armestrong Lord of Doncaster. (A2v)

Whereas Robin is oppositional, but traditionally never strives to overthrow the monarchy, Kendal's rebellion is more outspoken in its call for a sweeping hierarchical inversion, not unlike that proposed by the later Oxfordshire rebellion.

The play confounds audience expectations. Anybody about to see a play about the Jolly Pinder of Wakefield would enter the theatre expecting a plot in which Robin Hood plays a part at least as important as the eponymous character. Kendal is demonstrably not Robin Hood, since a character of that name will enter the stage towards the end of the play. Nonetheless, the manner in which Kendal is introduced makes him a carbon copy of the original outlaw, albeit in an unabashedly subversive way. Robin Hood is refigured as a rural rebel who desires to impose his rule, hitherto restricted to the northern greenwood, onto the whole of England. The comedy imagines the northern countryside in the light of this provocative re-interpretation of the medieval Robin Hood tradition.

In response to Kendal's march into Wakefield, George becomes the town's spokesperson. He announces Wakefield's loyalty to god and the king:

GEORGE We are English borne, and therefore Edwards friends,
 Voude vnto him euen in our mothers wombe,
 Our mindes to God, our hearts vnto our King,
 Our wealth, our homage, and our carcasses,
 Be all Edwards: then sirra, we haue
 Nothing left for traytours, but swords,
 Whetted to bathe them in your bloods,
 And dye against you, before we send you any victuals. (A4r)

George and the town of Wakefield embody a loyal northern space. Still, Kendal will not give up. He forces Grime, an old resident of the country, to accommodate his

rebels, while Bonfild woos Grime's daughter Bettris, who is already in love with George. Kendal, angered by the rejection of his obdurate fellow northerners, resolves to murder the pinder. When Kendal and his men arrive near Wakefield they hide their horses and sneak in on George. Luckily, the pinder has his own network of local confidants; Jenkin, the village clown, has warned George in time and the protagonist seeks a parley:

GEORGE Stay, my Lords, let vs parlie on these broiles:
 Not Hercules against two, the proverb is,
 Not I against so great a multitude.
 Had not your troupes come marching as they did,
 I would haue stopt your passage vnto London:
 [*aside*] But now Ile to secret policie. (C3v-C4r)

This passage is revealing for the northern identity that the play advocates and perhaps even exported into the countryside. George's main concern is to prevent the rebels' 'passage vnto London.' His 'policie' involves promising the rebels Wakefield's allegiance if an oracle deems their uprising successful. Kendal agrees, promising that if the oracle should foretell their failure, they 'will not march a foote to London more' (D2v). Yet, no oracles exist in Wakefield; instead, George disguises himself and predicts the failure of Kendal's *coup d'état*. When the enraged rebel threatens to burn Wakefield to the ground, George fights him. Under George's command, rather than a seedbed for sectarian opposition and autonomy, northern Yorkshire is the first defence line for London against any rebellion opposing the monarchy.

GEORGE Momford, thou liest, neuer was I traitor yet,
 Onely deuis'd this guile to draw you on,
 For to be combatants.
 Now conquere me, and then march on to London[.] (D3r)

Of course George succeeds in protecting the capital; he kills Gilbert and takes the others captive, duly handing them over to King Edward.

In the subplot, James, King of Scots, is similarly aspiring to conquer the English court. The play portrays James as cowardly and lecherous, wooing married women while their husbands are absent. His licentiousness eventually accounts for his downfall. When courting a married woman, the son returns and defeats the Scottish King in a duel – the King of Scotland is overcome by a local Yorkshire boy and handed over to King Edward. Meanwhile, George is a local celebrity; both the

English and the reconciled Scottish monarch desire to meet him. Only then does the plot introduce a conventional Robin Hood persona. Marian is jealous as the public admiration for George and Bettris eclipses her own fame. She encourages Robin to challenge George and to expose his cowardice. From here on, the narrative corresponds to that of the ballad. George beats Scarlet and Much, and the duel with Robin remains undecided. Contrary to the ballads, however, George is not interested in joining Robin in the greenwood, and likewise does not follow the king to London; instead, George professes his enduring loyalty to both the king and to Yorkshire.

GEORGE Though we Yorkshire men be blunt of speech,
 And litle skild in court, or such quaint fashions,
 Yet nature teacheth vs dutie to our king. (F3v)

George a Greene portrays the countryside as volatile when under pressure – the rift between subversion and loyalty is indeed narrow. The sources for pressure are numerous; the poor are discontented and may join subversive leaders while external forces might invade from beyond the border. The play re-imagines the northern greenwood as a defence line against such internal and external divisions. Before Kendal can march towards London and the court, he has to defeat George and take Wakefield. Within a climate of a ‘late Elizabethan epidemic of disorder’ and sporadic rural rebellions aiming to march towards the capital and court, the play establishes an untrustworthy Robin Hood character who de-glorifies the rebellious traits of the ballads’ northern greenwood on the early modern stage. Instead, the play disseminates a conservative and loyal greenwood, as Davenport argues.¹⁰⁷ George rejects the rebellion and defends London. In this regard, the plot is uncannily analogous with the events in Oxfordshire in 1596 where the people similarly chose not to join Steer and Bradshaw, but to leak information to Lord Norris. In *George a Greene*, the *lignes d’erre* of the greenwood, embodied by the politics of George, are straightened out and homogenised with the desires of the court.

Both *George a Greene* and the Huntingdon plays re-imagine the ballads’ greenwood and bring it into line with the politics of the court. Essentially, *George a*

¹⁰⁷ Edwin Davenport, ‘The representation of Robin Hood in Elizabethan drama: *George a Greene* and *Edward I*’, in *Robin Hood: the legend as a performance in five centuries*, ed. by Lois Potter (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998) pp. 45-62 (p. 49).

Greene is a rewriting of the prank Edward I and Robin Hood play on Nottingham at the end of *A Iest*. Whereas the people of Nottingham feared the attackers in ‘mantles of greene | that couered the field’ and are only saved by the fictional set-up of Robin’s invasion, the people of Wakefield actively resist and, in the person of George, fight back (G2r). In all three plays I have discussed so far, northern subversion does not spread; instead, they contain and limit the dissonances hidden in the remotest parts of rural northern England. However, I will now demonstrate the extent to which residual Catholicism and northern independence endured in early modern drama’s production of Robin Hood’s greenwood. *As You Like It* negotiates a green space which works between the binaries of sectarianism, independence and integration and reflects on the co-existence of ballads and plays which collectively produced a layered and contested greenwood.

V. ‘THEY LIVE LIKE THE OLD ROBIN HOOD OF ENGLAND’: ARDEN BETWEEN MEDIEVAL CATHOLICISM AND EARLY MODERN PROTESTANTISM

As You Like It might have also been a play which the Chamberlain’s Men, or later the King’s Men, took on tour, although the state of evidence is somewhat speculative. There is a recorded performance of the play on 2 December 1603 at Wilton House near Salisbury. William Johnston Carey, a tutor at Wilton in 1865, wrote in his diary that he had come across a letter from the Lady Pembroke to her son telling him to bring King James from Salisbury to see *As You Like It* and noting that ‘we have the man Shakespeare with us.’ Shakespeare’s company was indeed commissioned to perform a play before his Majesty at Wilton in December 1603, but no further evidence as to which play they performed has survived. Furthermore, the letter Carey mentions has yet to be found.¹⁰⁸ Nonetheless, this limited evidence associates *As You Like It*, the best-known early modern play set in a greenwood, with an extra-urban performance and thus brings us to the question of Shakespeare’s engagement with England’s northern green space.

I have demonstrated in the introduction to the thesis how critics habitually discuss *As You Like It* as representing either a *locus amoenus* or a space of uncomfortable wilderness. In contrast, I wish to demonstrate how the play partakes in a synchronic development within the Robin Hood tradition, working in

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Siobhan Keenan, *Travelling players in Shakespeare’s England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 73.

between the political layers which previous plays and ballads have overwritten the tradition with. The thematic connecting points between Robin Hood and *As You Like It*, Juliet Dusinberre argues, are numerous and include 'the attacks on civil and ecclesiastical authority [and] the flouting of convention'.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, *As You Like It* synthesises the themes and politics of *A Iest*, the Huntingdon plays and *George a Greene*. Collectively, these plays and ballads produce northern green space as irreconcilably Catholic and Protestant, as independent and also integrated with the court. Similarly, Arden is both hidden and open, as well as influenced by both Protestant and Catholic culture. Shakespeare stages a layered greenwood which reflects early modern drama's multivocal production of a sectarian landscape, the greenwood's contested and unstable northern identity and the forceful reformation of the English countryside. I argue that the comedy redistributes northern politics into all English green spaces, emphasising both the process of theatrical re-signification and the concomitant residual fissures and heterogeneities which endured the greenwood's gentrification and reformation on the early modern stage.

Shakespeare wanted his audience to be aware of the moment when Rosalind, Celia and Touchstone enter their exile. '[T]his is the Forest of Arden', Rosalind exclaims, and Touchstone echoes '[a]y, now am I in Arden, the more fool I' (II.iv.13-14).¹¹⁰ Touchstone omits 'forest' from his complaint, signalling that the green space the refugees arrived in is more than an area covered with trees and undergrowth; indeed, Arden's space goes beyond that which is '[u]nder the greenwood tree' (II.v.1). For an early modern audience 'forest' had different connotations from 'woods', and Arden encompasses a wider, more diverse area than the term 'forest' might initially suggest to a modern readership. In 1598, John Manwood defined forests as 'a certen Territorie of wooddy grounds & fruitfull pastures, priviledged for wild beasts and fowls of the Forest, Chase and Warren' (A1r).¹¹¹ A forest includes dense wooded areas, but also farming land, wild animals

¹⁰⁹ Juliet Dusinberre, 'Introduction', in *As You Like It*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Methuen, 2006), pp. 1-142 (p. 58). See also A.H. Thorndike, 'The relation of *As You Like It* to Robin Hood plays', *Journal of Germanic Philology*, 6.1 (1902), pp. 59-69 (p. 69). Thorndike argued that Shakespeare added the Robin Hood elements to *As You Like It* in order to rival the Admiral's Men's Huntingdon plays.

¹¹⁰ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre (London: Methuen, 2006).

¹¹¹ John Manwood, *A Treatise And Discourse of the Lawes of the Forest* (London: 1598).

and hunting parks.¹¹² As implied in *Robin Hood's Chase*, the greenwood includes a vast realm not only with forests, but also towns, parishes and agricultural economies. In the course of play, Shakespeare's audience is introduced to Arden's cottages, chapels, villages and a local vicar. 'In any case, Shakespeare's audience had not seen in England a great stretch of high forest. [...] The notion of a leaf-smothered Arden is an anachronistic romantic invention', Stuart Daley argues.¹¹³

Stephen Knight has observed how Robin represents locality, as he is often the Robin Hood of a site-specific place - Sherwood, or Barnsdale for example.¹¹⁴ However, in *As You Like It* he is 'Robin Hood of England', a tangible development in geographical scope (I.i.111). Indeed, in a certain way, *As You Like It* extends Robin's greenwood and remodels the outlaws' space so as to incorporate the entirety of the English countryside. The greenwood is no longer necessarily situated in the remote 'northern parts' as in previous entertainments: rather, Shakespeare's greenwood is ambiguous, abstract and not locatable. Not unlike *Robin Hood's Chase*, the outlaw roams through a vast space, potentially through all of England with no restrictions to either Yorkshire or Nottinghamshire. In Shakespeare's modification of the tradition, the entire English countryside potentially harbours Robin and the geographical and residual Catholic politics he embodied in both ballads and drama.

Not only do scholars debate whether Arden's geography represents an area in Warwickshire, Flanders or Richmond, but they also disagree on the nature of its depiction.¹¹⁵ For example, Daley emphasises that Arden is no *locus amoenus* and that the courtiers return home with obvious satisfaction. Court and Arden, he argues, are not that dissimilar.¹¹⁶ Robert Leach, however, reads Arden in a more positive manner, arguing that *As You Like It* is indebted to May Games, and that the space embraces their structure of festivity in an idealised environment.¹¹⁷ Instead of reducing Arden to a single signification, I suggest that Shakespeare stages multiple interrelated, yet incompatible topologies which reflect the sedimented

¹¹² See also Stuart Daley, 'Where are the woods in *As You Like It*?', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 34.2 (1983), pp. 172-180 (p. 174).

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Knight, pp. 111-114.

¹¹⁵ Dusinberre, p. 61.

¹¹⁶ Stuart Daley, 'The dispraise of the country in *As You Like It*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36.3 (1985), pp. 300-314 (p. 302).

¹¹⁷ Robert Leach, 'As You Like It - a "Robin Hood" play', *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature*, 82 (2001), pp. 393-400 (p. 397).

production of the greenwood on the early modern stage. Charlotte Scott argues that the Shakespearean forest is a space of 'multiple voices', or indeed a 'discursive construct' which 'explores the limits of social values'.¹¹⁸ For Jeffery Theis, Arden is multiple and transformative, 'engag[ing] an early modern audience with a mix of fears and opportunities'.¹¹⁹ Both critics emphasise the internal paradoxes in the theatrical representation of the forest and I wish to develop their readings by analysing Arden's contested nature, that is, its negotiation of the politics of sectarianism, isolationism and the contradictory layers the greenwood accumulated throughout the theatrical development of the Robin Hood tradition. I argue that Shakespeare's spatial imagining of the greenwood diverges in significant ways from that of his predecessors. The play draws attention to the irreconcilable modes of imagining the northern greenwood in oral ballads and professional drama throughout the 1590s. Arden synthesises an overlapping, sedimented and ideologically contested green space. *As You Like It* achieves its homeomorphic spatial production by populating Arden with two different types of Robin Hood: a laborious Protestant outlaw and an idle, monastic and contemplative Catholic one.¹²⁰ The undesirable politics of the layered greenwood, its Catholicism and its political independence, are not easily overwritten in Shakespeare's comedy. Furthermore, the characters stray from the road network and explore the rural space themselves. The protagonists' movements highlight the individual component in the imagining of the greenwood; Shakespeare acknowledges spatial multivocality between the layers instead of simply overwriting the space of the medieval ballads with his own holistic topology. Arden is not portrayed by way of a centralised map-like perspective, but by individual desires or the meandering *lignes d'erre* of its dissonant protagonists.

The adjective Shakespeare most prominently uses to describe Arden is 'desert.' Arden is alternatively a 'desert city', 'desert place' or 'desert inaccessible' (II.i.23, II.iv.71, II.vii.111). In Stephan Batman's 1582 translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' encyclopaedia, which was dedicated to Henry Carey, patron of Shakespeare's playing company the Lord Chamberlain's Men, 'desert' is defined as

¹¹⁸ Charlotte Scott, 'Dark matter: Shakespeare's foul dens and forests', *Shakespeare Survey*, 64 (2011), pp. 276-289 (pp. 276, 289).

¹¹⁹ Jeffrey S. Theis, *Writing the forest in early modern England: a sylvan pastoral nation* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2009), p. 54.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73. By contrast, Theis identifies only Duke Senior as a Robin Hood equivalent character.

a space of land [which] is forsaken of manye men to dwell therein, and to come therto; therefore men labour it not nor dwell therein[.] [It] is a place of creeping wormes and venimous beasts, and wild beasts, and it is the lodges of banished men and of thieues[.] For in desarte ways bee vnknown for the downes and pathes be not knowne nor trodden, but they be growen and full of Broome, of furies, and of Shrubbes, and of other bushes without fruite, and the plaines bee full of grauell and of stones, of fenne and of cloddes, and of other lets that greeue trauailing men.¹²¹

On the one hand, Arden represents a 'wild wood' as described by Batman (V.iv.157). It is wild and dangerous, has non-agricultural qualities and is home to outlaws. Rosalind and Celia are close to dehydration whilst snakes and lionesses threaten the lives of Oliver and Orlando.¹²² On the other hand, despite its desert-like qualities, Arden is all but forsaken or inaccessible. On the contrary, the exiles cannot help but encounter each other. Both natives of the forest and newly-arrived courtiers cut through the woods of Arden, ignoring the 'common road' and, regardless of the alleged lack of ways and paths in Arden's desert space, follow their own trajectories and desires (II.iii.32). The characters create their own topological variants, setting up their own traversing paths, or *lignes d'erre*. They 'pace through the forest' and 'walk not on the trodden path' to appropriate Arden for their own causes by way of unique scrawling lines (IV.iii.14, 99).

Shakespeare's revision of his source text, Thomas Lodge's prose romance *Rosalynd* (1590), is particularly revealing of the modifications regarding movement and the connection between road and off-road topologies. In Lodge's story, Gerismond, Shakespeare's exiled Duke, is generically referred to as 'King of Outlaws.'¹²³ Shakespeare specified the exiled Duke's historical heritage, comparing him to Robin Hood:

CHARLES They say he is already in the Forest of Arden and a many merry men with him, and there they live like the old Robin Hood of England. They say many young gentlemen flock to him every day, and fleet the time

¹²¹ Stephan Batman, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus: Batman vppon Bartholome his booke De Proprietatibus Rerum*, 1582, ed. by Jürgen Schäfer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), p. 211.

¹²² See Daley, 'Dispraise of the country', p. 308. On the danger of travelling through 'deserts', see Gordon W. Zeefeld, *The temper of Shakespeare's thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 201.

¹²³ Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynd*, ed. by Brian Nellist (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995), p. 71.

carelessly, as they did in the golden world. (I.i.109-113)

As a consequence of remodelling Lodge's outlaw as Robin Hood, Arden becomes associated with the northern greenwood and its ambiguities regarding sectarianism and independence. As in the ballad and dramatic tradition, Arden's inhabitants invest irreconcilable meanings into their space. In *Rosalynd*, Salander gets lost on his way to Italy, 'the forest being full of by-paths, and he unskilful of the country coast, slipped out of the way, and chanced up into the desert, not far from the place where Gerismond was and his brother Rosander.'¹²⁴ Slipping, tumbling, and getting lost in forsaken spaces, Lodge's text emphasises the dominant routes and the dangers of leaving them for the desert space in between the road network. Lodge maps the countryside through what de Certeau called the hegemonic grid. The danger of the space in between the roads becomes particularly evident in a scene Shakespeare omitted. Aliena is attacked by forest bandits, who 'lived by prowling in the forest' in 'caves in the groves and thickets to shroud themselves' from the provost marshal.¹²⁵ By contrast, Shakespeare does not exclusively map Arden with the 'common road' around the 'wild wood', but by protagonists who deliberately traverse it. Shakespeare opens the greenwood up for individual exploration and subjective meanings; the greenwood is not selectively closed as in *A Iest*. Although Celia warns Rosalind of the dangers if they 'walk not the trodden paths', they are forced to leave exactly that path upon entering the woods. Rather than relying on previous descriptions of the greenwood, the play invites its characters and also its audiences to explore and appropriate it themselves. *As You Like It* takes up the themes established in the forerunning plays of the Robin Hood vogue, fusing wild but also accessible space into one irreconcilable spatial imagining. The play questions the dominance of the road network, suggesting instead that individual errant lines reveal the layered and contradictory qualities of early modern green space. Arden is not exclusively a space of danger and threat as Batman's definition of 'desert' implies; contrary to the thieves in *Rosalynd* who resist the marshal's authority, Arden is not a site of simmering revolt which needs to be contained on stage. Only when Rosalind and Celia embark on their own path through the green space, rather than around it, do

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 84.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 91.

they come to realise that Arden will not be of any 'danger' to them (I.iii.105). Indeed, only when they explore the countryside on their own subjective paths does Celia realise that green space is also desirable: 'I like this place | And willingly could waste my time in it' (II.iv.93-94).

Shakespeare maps Arden onto the stage through homeomorphic topologies, that is, through individual trajectories, perceptions and politics. Arden is both autonomous and incorporated into the realm of the court, dangerous for outsiders but also open to all for individual movement. Yet, Shakespeare's sedimented representation of Arden negotiates more than just issues about green spaces' accessibility and multivocal perception. Arden also negotiates the greenwood's Catholic dimensions. I argue that in addition to being traversed subjectively, Arden was both a site of laborious industry in a post-monastic world and at the same time a contemplative and introverted place, negotiating the spiritual meditation of a monastic environment.

Arden is a working space with pastures and arable land. Corin, a shepherd, defines himself a native of this environment of labour:

CORIN Sir, I am a true labourer. I earn that I eat, get that I wear; owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness; glad of other men's good, content with my harm; and the greatest of my pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck. (III.ii.70-74)

The Earl of Huntingdon similarly emphasised the virtues of 'true labour' in his Protestant greenwood (F1v). In this respect, Arden resembles Munday's and Chettle's greenwood as a space where a 'true labourer' dominates an industrious post-monastic environment. Corin is one of the few original inhabitants in the play's green space. In its original state, namely before the intrusion of Duke Senior, the play describes Arden as a labour-centred environment. Duke Senior and his men, however, with their singing, hunting out of pleasure and sumptuous dining disrupt Arden's economic environment and stand out from Corin, Silvius and Audrey. Instead, the duke and his men 'fleet the time carelessly as they did in the golden world.' Corin, whose 'true labour' is the driving force and pulsing heart of Arden's rural economy, takes 'pride' in the fruits of his labour and would hardly waste time in the fashion of Touchstone who rejoices in meditating on the simple passing of time (II.vii.22-28). Duke Senior and his idle courtiers, equated with Robin Hood by Charles, resemble the Catholic ballad outlaw in spite of their

aristocratic descent. However, there is also a second Robin Hood character roaming through Arden.

Orlando is introduced by way of his discontent with being forced into idleness and thereby marring what God made (I.i.32); he complains that he has been poorly educated and detained 'rustically at home' (I.i.64, 7). Likewise, his companion Adam is 'not of the fashion of these times, | Where none will sweat but for promotion, | And, having that, do choke their service up | Even with the having' (II.iii.59-62). When Orlando intrudes, armed, on Duke Senior's and Jaques' banquet to demand food, he remarks that he is 'inland bred' (II.vii.97). This statement has sparked discussions among editors about how it should be glossed and I wish to propose a new context for Orlando's unusual expression.¹²⁶ Early in *A Iest* Robin Hood is described as a virtuous and pious man:

A good manner then had Robin
inland where that he were,
Euery day ere he would dine
three masses would he heere. (A1v)

'Inland' resonates with the space Robin Hood traditionally occupies – 'inland where that he were' implies the seclusion and independence of Robin's ballad greenwood. In this speech Orlando associates himself with the famous forest outlaw; he is ecclesiastic and equitable within the topology of his greenwood, desiring to work hard and, only when desperately hungry, takes from those who have enough to give to his elderly companion in need. In Orlando's speech and in the context of taking from the rich to feed the poor, 'inland' evokes Robin Hood's alternative realm in *A Iest*, but with the difference of his Protestant understanding of labour and productivity. Orlando's aristocratic descent and his non-idle focus on labour render him close to the Robin Hood of Munday's and Chettle's Huntingdon plays, whereas Duke Senior's idle meditations resemble those of the ballad outlaw in spite of the Duke's aristocratic origins. Both Robin Hood alternatives echo the protagonist in the Huntingdon plays to the extent that they are both noblemen imposing their courtly perception onto the green space. Like the fictional Earl of Huntingdon, Duke Senior projects courtly and anthropomorphic values onto nature:

¹²⁶ See for example Richard Wilson, "'Like the old Robin Hood': *As You Like It* and the enclosure riots", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 43.1 (1992), pp. 1-19 (p. 8); Dusiñberre, p. 96.

DUKE SENIOR	And this our life, exempt from the public haunt, Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, Sermons in stones, and good in everything.
AMIENS	I would not change it. Happy is your grace That can translate the stubbornness of fortune Into so quiet and so sweet a style. (II.i.15-20)

Observing how the duke can ‘change’ or ‘translate’ Arden into its opposite, Amiens addresses the homeomorphic inversion and appropriation of Arden’s greenwood topology. Amiens comments on the wider ramifications of the Robin Hood vogue which fused the greenwood of the ballads and professional drama. The extent to which the legend, as originally told in *A Iest*, has gone through a process of ‘translation’, that is, counter-production and overwriting, is negotiated and evaluated in *As You Like It*. In the end, Arden’s space is emphatically contested. The representation of natural space, as Amiens suggests, is individual and resists any single modification. Arden’s greenwood is simultaneously open and closed, wild and courtly, Protestant and Catholic. Crucially, the ballads’ residual medieval ideologies endure in Shakespeare’s early modern re-telling of the Robin Hood legend and in the theatrical production of his northern greenwood.

Shakespeare’s play sets up an internal dichotomy between idleness and labour, between Duke Senior’s bygone medieval ‘golden world’ and Orlando’s industrious Protestantism. If the Huntingdon plays and *George a Greene* discursively contained and re-wrote the medieval identity of the northern greenwood – an identity which was metonymic for autonomy and sectarianism, *As You Like It* illustrates instead how the representation of green space is altered through multiple re-interpretations without fully replacing older, interrelated layers, or ideologies. In *As You Like It*, Shakespeare merges contested and irreconcilable versions of the greenwood into one spatial representation. The play stages Arden through sedimented individual perceptions and ideologies, thereby echoing the development of the greenwood tradition overall in the late sixteenth century.

I have argued that *As You Like It* reflects on the Robin Hood tradition of both the ballads and the earlier drama. The play explores both sides of the spatial imagination we encountered throughout the 1590s. Shakespeare places Arden in between the binaries of previous descriptions of the greenwood. The comedy questions the process of making sense of space by way of roads, emphasising instead that errant, individual and subjective *lignes d’erre* produce multivocal and

interrelated topologies of the countryside. *As You Like It* encompasses both an aristocratic Protestant ideology and a peripheral counter-space.¹²⁷ Furthermore, *As You Like It* restores Robin Hood. Despite staging two versions of the forest outlaw, the play's protagonists are neither thieves nor opportunists, nor do they oppose courtly ideology. Indeed, by the end of the play, both return to the court and the alternative green counter-space stops expanding. The Huntingdon plays and *George a Greene* brought the tradition in line with the ideology of an aristocratic and Protestant greenwood; *As You Like It*, by contrast, returns the tradition back to its roots, and thereby retains the ideologically uneasy elements of the medieval greenwood.

It is no coincidence that critics, and by the same token, theatre directors, fail to agree on the depiction of Arden in Shakespeare's play. As a re-imagining of Robin Hood's northern greenwood, the forest in *As You Like It* is a distinctly sedimented space. It captures the layers, the politically and ideologically contested and irreconcilable elements, accumulated by northern England through the drama of the 1590s, when the northern Robin Hood tradition was subject to increased re-negotiation on the early modern stage. As a result, *As You Like It* synthesises interrelated, yet conflicting, overlapping and subjectively multivocal topological variants of the countryside – it is at once inaccessible, remote and Catholic as in the ballads, and simultaneously, open, aristocratic and Protestant. As a gauge for the social and cultural instability between urban and rural space triggered by revolt, residual Catholicism and *de facto* independence in the north, *As You Like* imagines Robin's greenwood to encompass all subjective vantage points on northern green space. Shakespeare seeks the connection to the Robin Hood vogue so as in a certain way to *expose* professional drama's forceful reformation, re-imagination and containment of the greenwood and the ideological contradictions and fissures which endured in the collectively layered imagination of the outlaw's secluded northern green space.

¹²⁷ See also Wilson, pp. 1-19. Wilson demonstrates how *As You Like It* dramatises the politics of enclosure, famine and rural discontent which provoked the Oxfordshire Rising in 1596.

VI. CONCLUSION

For Lawrence Buell, a particular environment is defined by conjoining inner landscapes created by a collective culture's mind with the outer landscape constituting that place's physical composition. Yet 'outer and inner landscapes are never entirely synchronous or continuous,' he argues, and I have suggested throughout this chapter that this disjunction opens up a productive area of study through which we can analyse how early modern drama created and shaped green space according to its own ideologies and desires.¹²⁸ Pollard's research demonstrates that a 'distinctive northern consciousness' constituted an inner landscape which separated and distanced the rural north from the rest of the country. This self-perception was represented in the oral ballads and circulated in the sixteenth century, but stands in contrast to the space professional urban theatrical culture disseminated at the same time. The Huntingdon plays and *George a Greene* discursively purged the northern greenwood of Catholicism and outlawry, remodelling and symbolically containing it under an aristocratic Protestant gaze. In the collective theatrical imagination, Robin's northern greenwood space was simultaneously independent and loyal to the central monarchy, both Catholic and Protestant. Shakespeare negotiated this spatial instability in *As You Like It*. Arden incorporates a range of contested and subjective spatial projections. The play's cultural work between geographical and sectarian layers exposes the extent to which the theatrical northern countryside reflected the collisions of multiple dissonant inner landscapes which sought to shape and re-create the distant outer landscape north of the River Trent.

Pockets of northern Catholic resistance and *de facto* independence were responsible for early modern drama's contested production of Robin Hood's greenwood throughout the 1590s. Yet Pollard also hints at a third feature which characterised, but was by no means limited to, the historical understanding of the north. Wealthy northern families created loyal networks which rivalled those of the crown and increased the sense of northern independence. Families such as the Nevilles and Percys cultivated a customary feudal economy during a period when agricultural innovation was becoming increasingly common in England.¹²⁹ This is

¹²⁸ Lawrence Buell, *Writing for an endangered world: literature, culture, and environment in the U.S. and beyond* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 26. See also Theis, p. 27.

¹²⁹ Pollard, 'The characteristics of the fifteenth-century north', p. 137.

all the more significant as the advance of English agricultural capitalism was not universally accepted and for many peasants a feudal economy was more desirable. The failed Oxfordshire Uprising was a forerunner of the resistance enclosure and depopulation would provoke over the next decades. In 1607, the Midlands Revolt was at least initially more successful in its pursuit of many identical agendas, even if it too was eventually suppressed. Like the Oxfordshire Uprising, the Midlands Revolt had a considerable impact on the output of early modern drama. The representation of agricultural green space, I will argue in the next chapter, negotiated the contradictory range of responses, fears and opportunities projected onto the nascent economic model. Weber argued that Protestantism 'has been *partially* responsible for the qualitative shaping and expansion of [...] capitalist culture'.¹³⁰ Having demonstrated the extent to which Protestantism challenged early modern drama's engagement with the green spaces of the English countryside, I will now turn my attention to how the economic change which Protestantism had encouraged was negotiated and interrogated through the representation of contested agricultural green space on the early modern stage.

¹³⁰ Weber, p. 36.

CHAPTER TWO

THE 'LONDON EYE' AND ITS DISCONTENTS: GENDERING AGRICULTURAL CAPITALISM, 1605-1609

In Jacobean England, wild and sprawling nature was a source of discomfort.¹ It is no surprise, then, that Mannerist gardens became widely popular in the seventeenth century – they marked the ultimate artistic technique to make nature harmonious and visually pleasing.² Gardens 'manage the disorder of nature' and 'invite [onlookers] to imagine themselves in control.'³ The Jacobean garden represented 'an attitude to nature as it was conquered and tamed by the arts of man under the impact of the culture of the Renaissance.'⁴ It was essentially a *hortus conclusus*, 'a walled enclosure within which nature tamed by art is made to fulfil the wildest of Mannerist fantasies.'⁵ The wall, Strong suggests, was a defining feature, marking the boundary between wild and tamed environments, separating symbolic delight from the infertility of wildness and emptiness. Gardens invest empty spaces with meaning by enclosing it and filling it with symbolic order. '[T]he [Jacobean] garden is always symbolic of wild nature tamed and, by inference, tamed by virtue of the peace and harmony ushered in by the rule of a monarch of Divine Right.'⁶

I wish to suggest that London's *city* wall fulfilled a role comparable to that of a Mannerist garden. Contemporaries considered London ordered and integral.⁷ Beyond the wall were the suburbs, which, by contrast, harboured vice

¹ Keith Thomas, *Man and the natural world: changing attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1984), pp. 195-197. Robert Harrison argues that early modern society considered untamed nature as 'obstacles to progress or havens for thieves and other degenerates.' Robert Progue Harrison, *Forests: the shadow of civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 100.

² For a history of gardening culture and how it was imported to early modern England, see Terry Comito, *The idea of the garden in the Renaissance* (Hassocks: Harvester, 1979); John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and grove: the Italian Renaissance garden in the English imagination: 1600-1750* (London: Dent, 1986).

³ Rebecca Bushnell, *Green desire: imagining early modern English gardens* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 51.

⁴ Roy Strong, *The Renaissance garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979; repr. 1998), p. 11

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁷ Steven Mullaney, *The place of the stage: license, play, and power in Renaissance England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), p. 20; Valerie Pearl, 'Social policy in early modern London', in *History & imagination: essays in honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper*, ed. by

and debauchery. 'If the liberties look like the interstices where the city's dirt collects, it is primarily because that is how the city, with its desire for clearly marked boundaries, wants them to look.'⁸ Beyond the dirty and chaotic suburbs lay the untamed countryside which, as Keith Thomas demonstrates, made city-dwellers feel equally uneasy and vulnerable. 'For centuries town walls had symbolized security and human achievement; and to the traveller their sight was always reassuring.'⁹ Conversely, leaving the city for extramural wilderness and chaos was equally discomforting. Accordingly, when Coriolanus is banished and escorted to the Roman gates, he ventures out into the 'wild exposure' to dwell 'under the canopy' and the fens where the lonely dragon 'makes fear'd and talk'd of more than seen' (IV.i.30-39).¹⁰ If a garden wall separated order from the chaos of untouched nature, London's wall, in its most fundamental function, divided the ordered city from both the extramural licentiousness of the suburbs and the untamed wilderness of the countryside.

'In the sixteenth century', Steven Mullaney claims, '[the wall] functioned solely as a means of symbolic definition, a monumental demarcation of the limits of community, an emblem of civic integrity that was annually "refortified" by the ceremonial repertoire of the city.'¹¹ However, in Jacobean London the physical wall had become porous. In *A Survey of London* (1598), John Stow goes to great lengths to demonstrate the extent to which the wall had protected London in its Roman and medieval past.¹² In his description of Elizabethan London, he deplores the wall's gradual erosion and fears for the safety of his city.

Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl, and Blair Worden (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 115-132 (p. 123).

⁸ Janette Dillon, *Theatre, court, and city, 1595-1610: drama and social space in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 97.

⁹ Thomas, pp. 243-244.

¹⁰ William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, The Arden Shakespeare Second Series, ed. by Philip Brockbank (London: Thomson Learning, 1976; repr. 2001).

¹¹ Mullaney, p. 20.

¹² Ian Archer, 'The nostalgia of John Stow', in *The theatrical city: culture, theatre, and politics in London, 1576-1649*, ed. by David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 17-34 (p. 19); Lawrence Manly, 'Of sites and rites', in *The theatrical city: culture, theatre, and politics in London, 1576-1649*, ed. by David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 35-54 (p. 47). See also Patrick Collinson, 'John Stow and nostalgic antiquarianism', in *Imagining early modern London: perceptions and portrayals of the city from Stow to Strype, 1580-1720*, ed. by J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 27-51 (pp. 28-29).

The Ditch being originally made for the defence of the Citie, was also long together, carefully clensed and maintained as neede required, but now of late neglected and forced either to a verie narrow, and the same a filthie chanel, or altogether stopped vp for Gardens planted, and houses built thereon, euen to the verie wall, and in many places vpon both ditch & wall houses be builded, to what danger of the Citie, I leaue to wiser consideration: and can but wish that reformation might be had.¹³

Stow comments on the gradual disappearance of London's protective enclosure due to accelerated urban sprawl.¹⁴ The wall's physical appearance and its capacity to guard London are weakened and the lack of a coherent protective barrier has left the city vulnerable to unspecified 'danger'.

Not only was the wall losing its defensive character, but the gates had been expanding too. Bishopsgate was widened in order to facilitate commerce with Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Moorgate, too, was made 'more commodious for passage'.¹⁵ Stow is bewildered that the defence of his city was sacrificed for increased commercial trade with rural England. *A Survey* registers unease about the capital's increasing dependence on imported goods from further afield to satisfy the demands of the ever-growing population. If originally 'the city wall proved a significant barrier to expansion,' Stow argues that it failed in that very function.¹⁶ On the contrary, the city's growth and trade activity was progressing beyond its circumference, contributing to the slow

¹³ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), I, p. 19.

¹⁴ Craig Horton, "... the countryside must diminish": Jacobean London and the production of pastoral space in *The Winter's Tale*, *Parergon: Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 20.1 (2003), pp. 85-109 (p. 88). Vanessa Harding demonstrates the extent to which the expanding city and the loss of adjacent green spaces were prominent concerns throughout the seventeenth century. Laura Williams adds that Londoners were particularly worried because access to fresh air was compromised for urban growth. Vanessa Harding, 'City, capital, and metropolis: the changing shape of seventeenth-century London', in *Imagining early modern London: perceptions and portrayals of the city from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 117-143 (pp. 121-124); Laura Williams, "'To recreate and refresh their dulled spirites in the sweet and wholesome ayre": green space and the growth of the city', in *Imagining early modern London: perceptions and portrayals of the city from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. by J.F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 185-213 (pp. 185-186).

¹⁵ Stow, I, pp. 32-33.

¹⁶ Cathy Ross and John Clark, *London: the illustrated history* (London: Allen Lane, 2008), p. 64.

erosion of the wall. In Stow's account, extramural contamination with licentiousness and wilderness threaten early modern London's spatial integrity.

Fernand Braudel has argued that Renaissance city walls marked a boundary categorising the space and customs integral to the community and those which were alien and foreign. City and countryside, according to Braudel, clashed at the walls. The Renaissance city 'had to break away from other human groups, from rural societies, and from old political connections. It even had to stand apart from its own countryside. [...] [I]t was a sign of strength, plentiful money and real power.'¹⁷ Early modern drama similarly represented London as a sign of wealth and power. I will show how city comedies fashion the capital as the nation's commercial marketplace for rural commodities. However, I will further argue that London's symbolic distinction from 'rural societies' was more complicated than Braudel suggests. Mullaney demonstrated how instead of a 'binary system', a 'tertiary system' was in place. 'Between city and country stood an uncertain and somewhat irregular territory [the suburbs] where the powers of city, state, and church came together but did not coincide.'¹⁸ It is this uncertainty over boundaries – the boundary between city and suburb, suburb and country, city and country – that was of specific concern to Stow at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The realisation that London's wall was 'no longer an effective barrier against the outside world,' encouraged negotiations of the ontological instability of city and the extramural green spaces on the early modern stage.¹⁹

In this chapter I concentrate on London's wall and on the ways in which professional theatres produced the countryside in relation to the city. I argue that in Jacobean drama the wall fulfilled more than the role of a frontier. Like a membrane, the wall was permeable, at once closed and open to its exterior, enabling one-way or two-way exchanges with the adjacent countryside.²⁰ Michel de Certeau has demonstrated the cultural importance of spatial partition.

¹⁷ Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and material life, 1400-1800*, trans. by Miriam Kochan (Glasgow: Fontana, 1974), p. 398.

¹⁸ Mullaney, p. 21.

¹⁹ Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *The drama of landscape: land, property, and social relations on the early modern stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 206.

²⁰ In the early modern period walls did not necessarily signify seclusion, safety, or even intimacy. Orlin argues that domestic walls in particular allowed for surveillance, voyeurism and 'accidental observations'. Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 152-192.

'Everything refers in fact to this differentiation which makes possible the isolation and interplay of distinct spaces.'²¹ However, as the expansion of London, combined with increased trade activities further afield made the wall increasingly redundant, concomitant concerns were addressed in the dramatic output of the early seventeenth century. The collision of two economic cultures in the first decade of the seventeenth century put hitherto unprecedented pressure on the notion of an 'isolated' and protected city and structurally changed the nature of the 'interplay' between London and the countryside. As I will demonstrate in the following section, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the manorial system gradually declined and farmland was concentrated in the hands of fewer landowners who sought out new methods and techniques to generate profits and surpluses from their lands. This nascent form of agricultural capitalism, which, as Karl Marx argued, constituted the first of many steps towards a fully-fledged agricultural system, however, was not accepted without any resistance from certain interest groups advocating the traditional feudal system.²² I will argue that the co-existence of a nascent form of agricultural innovation and residual feudalism, or the manorial system, complicated understandings of the countryside. This gradual economic shift was then felt most strongly in early modern theatres where dramatists could juxtapose contested imaginings of agricultural green space. The economic situation of the agricultural economy in Jacobean England was all but homogeneous. Reflecting the economic and cultural upheavals of the period, Jacobean drama imagined the countryside in irreconcilable and conflicting ways. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how agricultural green spaces were largely gendered as female in the early modern theatrical imagination, hearkening back to mother-earth as the provider and nourisher of society; on stage, however, gendered agricultural green space was at once a site to exploit and maximise the desires of an implicitly masculine city and, simultaneously, to reflect the politics of a parochial, caring and nurturing community.

²¹ Michel de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 123.

²² Karl Marx, *Capital: a critique of political economy*, trans. by Ben Fowkes, 3 vols (London: Penguin, 1976), I., pp. 873-876.

I. 'ALL THE COUNTRY IS GOTTEN INTO *LONDON*'
CITY, COUNTRY AND AGRICULTURAL CAPITALISM IN JACOBAN ENGLAND

The emergence of capitalism was a slow, even a reluctant process.²³ At its most basic, capitalism is a system which injects wealth into commodities with the aim of generating more income for the investor.²⁴ '[A]gricultural improvements, global explorations, and scientific advances', as well as the sale of vast monastic lands accelerated the growth of capitalist-minded agriculture in early modern England. Technological innovations increased the efficiency, quality and speed of harvests.²⁵ Robert Duplessis calculates that new technological developments and innovative farming techniques such as rotating arable and 'ley pastures', the floating of water-meadows, new fallow crops, marsh drainage, fertilisers and stock-breeding - all of which required a considerable investment of capital and revolutionised the productivity of the land - had the potential to double or even triple per-acre yields.²⁶ As a consequence, many landowners and freeholders were keen to abandon customary feudal uses of the land for more profitable ones. Landowners increasingly realised how much additional income their territory could generate. 'Capital was essential both to the farmers who chose to intensify grain production and to those who chose to turn over entirely to grazing.'²⁷ Landowners hired cheaper external labourers at market prices - as opposed to local workers at fixed rates - enclosed large stretches of land and invested in profit-boosting innovations. Demographic growth worked in landowners' favour; wages went down while grain prices and demand for agricultural produce increased.

Enclosure was the most straightforward way to maximise rural profitability. Small-scale farmers were driven from their fields, as hitherto open

²³ Peter Musgrave, *The early modern European economy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 3-5; Maarten Prak, 'Early modern capitalism: an introduction', in *Early modern capitalism: economic and social change in Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. by Maarten Prak (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 1-21 (p. 19); Mark Overton, Jane Whitle, Darron Dean, and Andrew Hann, *Production and consumption in English households, 1600-1750* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1-12.

²⁴ John Appleby, *The relentless revolution: a history of capitalism* (New York: Norton, 2010), p. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 74.

²⁶ Robert S. Duplessis, *Transitions to capitalism in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 64.

²⁷ Joan Thirsk, 'Seventeenth-century agriculture and social change', in *Seventeenth century: society in an age of revolution*, ed. by Paul S. Seaver (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976), pp. 71-110 (p. 81).

arable ground was fenced off and converted into more profitable pastures in response to buoyant wool prices both in England and abroad. Because of the land's increased profitability, it was subject to unprecedented price increases in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁸ The land and its produce were increasingly seen as a commodity or as an 'exploitable resource.'²⁹ London in particular felt the impact of changing demographics; forced to feed an increasing number of inhabitants, urban communities had to draw on their surrounding lands and commons for resources. London became the focus of capitalist culture and agricultural improvement.³⁰ In the seventeenth century, it was a centre of trade and finance as well as government and law.³¹ From an urban vantage point, the early modern countryside represented the prime location to satisfy the hunger and investment potential of the emerging economic and cultural system.³² Early modern investors increasingly imagined the countryside as a producer of much-needed commodities and also as a provider for additional income and luxury produce for an increasingly affluent class of absentee landlords in the capital.

'In 1601 the Queen's principal secretary, William Cecil, delivered the weighty opinion in the Commons that "whosoever doth not maintain the plough destroys the kingdom."³³ Increasingly, the notion emerged that a 'landscape was to be exploited, and to fail to do so was to commit an offence.'³⁴ On 20 July

²⁸ Lawrence Stone, *The crisis of aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 37-38.

²⁹ Sullivan, pp. 10-11.

³⁰ Musgrave, pp. 61-63; Richard Britnell, 'Urban demand in the English economy, 1300-1600', in *Trade, urban hinterlands, and market integration, c.1300-1600*, ed. by James A. Galloway (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, 2000), pp. 1-21 (pp. 19-21); Henry R. French, 'The common fields of urban England: common agriculture and the "politics of entitlement", 1500-1750', in *Custom, improvement, and the landscape in early modern Britain*, ed. by Richard W. Hoyle (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 149-174 (pp. 150-154).

³¹ For the correlation between city comedies and London's role as a central trading market, see Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and memory in early modern England: a sense of place* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 127. Lemke Sanford argues that city comedies satirise the merchant who embodied the recent cultural shifts towards urban materialism.

³² Marx, I, pp. 874-940; Appleby, pp. 78-86. See also Richard Halpern: *The poetics of primitive accumulation: English Renaissance culture and the genealogy of capital* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 63.

³³ Joan Thirsk, *Alternative agriculture: A history from the Black Death to the present day* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 23.

³⁴ Richard W. Hoyle, 'Introduction: custom, improvement, and anti-improvement', in *Custom, improvement, and the landscape in early modern Britain*, ed. by Richard W. Hoyle (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 1-39 (p. 17).

1616, King James referred to migratory trends from the countryside to London. His speech in the Star Chamber, the most detailed on the subject, is as much about the countryside as it is about the city.

It is the fashion of *Italy*, especially of *Naples*, (which is one of the richest parts of it) that all the Gentry dwell in the principall Townes, and so the whole country is emptie: Euen so now in *England*, all the countrey is gotten into *London*: so as with time, *England* will only be *London*, and the whole countrey be left waste: For as wee now doe imitate the French fashion, in fashion Clothes, and Lackeys to follow euery man; So haue wee got vp the Italian fashion, in liuing miserably in our house, and dwelling in the Citie: but let vs in Gods Name leaue these idle forreine toyes, and keepe the old fashion of *England*: For it was wont to be the honour and reputation of the English Nobilitie and Gentry, to liue in the countrey, and keepe hospitality; for which we were famous aboue all the countreys in the world; which wee may the better doe, hauing a soile abundantly fertile to liue in.³⁵

James conjures up a countryside which is rich and fertile, but 'emptie' and 'left waste'. By asking the landed gentry to transfer back, James is attempting to influence the social fabric of the countryside according to his panoptic vision of orderliness and control whilst increasing the flow of rural produce into the city. In *The Book of Sports*, James similarly strove to re-imagine the countryside according to his Protestant agenda. The edict also guarantees that the court can draw on rural commodities, in this case, '[b]odies more able for Warre, when Wee or Our Successors shall haue occasion to vse them (A4r).³⁶

The notion of exploiting the land at all costs is also discussed by the cartographer John Norden. In *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1618), Norden captures the growing sense of agrarian innovation and the concomitant urban capitalist culture which reduced the countryside to a profitable commodity. In a series of fictional discussions with rural landowners and peasants, a surveyor comes to embody an innovative and profitable utilisation of the land. Throughout the dialogues, Norden's characters create the impression that a new economic order has taken control of agrarian England, that 'the land itself has become transformed and associated with mobility and commodification.'³⁷ As of late, the surveyor notes, the housewives of Hertfordshire and Middlesex produce their

³⁵ *King James VI and I: political writings*, ed. by Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 226.

³⁶ *The Kings Maiesties Declaration to His Subjects* (London: 1618).

³⁷ Mark Netzloff, 'Introduction', in *John Norden's Surveyor's Dialogue (1618): a critical edition* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. xiii-xlii (p. xxxii).

goods with an eye for the London market 'as they do all other vendible things else.'³⁸ Even the soil has become a profitable acquisition:

And now of late the Farmers near *London* have found a benefit by bringing the Scavengers' street soil, which, being mixed as it is with the stone coal-dust, is very helpful to their clay, being hot and dry by nature, qualifieth the stiffness and cold of the soil thereabouts. The soil of the stables of *London*, especially near the Thames side, is carried Westward by water, to *Chelsea*, *Fulham*, *Battersea*, *Putney*, and those parts, for their sandy ground.³⁹

In other words, rural soil and limestone is imported into the city while London's waste is reinvested back into the countryside as dung. Within this milieu of nascent agricultural capitalism, extramural green spaces were no longer imagined as independent, self-nurturing feudal markets. Instead, the sense of a *national* English marketplace, 'an unprecedented kind of *internal* market', emerged.⁴⁰ This central market drew on green spaces as an economic commodity, which increased urban wealth and revenues. Karl Marx would later describe this shift as one of the key steps from a capitalist culture towards a capitalist *system*; the so-called 'primitive accumulation' – that is, the expropriation of direct producers, in particular peasants – gave rise to specifically capitalist property relations and the dynamics associated with them.⁴¹ Although the development of a fully-fledged capitalist *system* was still far in the future, James' and Norden's examples hint at the emergence of a capitalist *culture* of which London was the thriving centre. The city 'was setting new standards of productivity and providing an alternative source of income for the oppressed peasants.'⁴² Indeed, urban investors injected capital into the countryside in exchange for profitable returns and cheaper goods, transforming customary and feudal modes of agricultural production. I argue that early modern theatres responded to such economic upheavals with the production of collectively incompatible versions of agricultural green space which articulate the multivocal responses, both hopes and concerns, towards economic change.

³⁸ John Norden's *The Surveyor's Dialogue (1618): a critical edition*, ed. by Mark Netzloff (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 165.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 181.

⁴⁰ Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The origin of capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1999), p. 40.

⁴¹ Marx, I., pp. 873-876.

⁴² Prak, p. 4.

As represented on stage, agricultural England was at once the site which satisfied the city's desire, but also the site which resisted and inverted its greed.

Contrary to James' and Norden's favourable descriptions of agricultural change, Thomas Dekker was more cautious. *The Seuē Deadly Sinnes of London* (1606), Dekker's satirical pamphlet about London-life and the threat of the plague, referred to the city walls' permeability in times of increased agricultural capitalism. A satiric personification of investment farming, Politick Bankrupt, enters the city through Ludgate. Described as an 'enemy to the City' and a 'Citty-Conqueror', he acquires subprime loans and accumulates wealth on the backs of credulous citizens (B3r, C2r).⁴³ However, 'after he hath gotten into his hands so much of other mens goods or money, [...] he flies like an Irish rebel, and keepes aloofe, hiding his head, when he cannot hide his shame [...] and then in the dead of night, marches vp higher into the country with bag and baggage' (B3r-B3v). Throughout the pamphlet, Dekker's concern is that the introduction of extramural diseases and corruption will dissolve London entirely:

Thy Louers will disdayne to court thee: [...] Justice will take her flight, and dwell else-where; and that Desolation, which now for three years together hath houered round about thee, will at last enter, and turne thy Garden of pleasure, into Church-yards; thy Fields that seru'd thee for walk, into Golgotha[.] (A3v-A4r)

The topology of the city, compared by Dekker to an ordered garden, is inverted into chaos and infertility. Capitalist culture, in this case the investment of others' capital into phoney and non-profitable ventures personified by the practices of Politick Bankrupt, is responsible for the moral decline which Dekker extrapolates to the physical destruction of the entire city. Richard Wilson noted that the early modern period witnessed an 'epochal shift from collective values based on shared consumption to exchange values and private enterprise.'⁴⁴ Indeed, Dekker was not alone in voicing scepticism towards recent economic change. The gradual shift towards capitalist agriculture was not as unrivalled as some historians imply. Parallel economic systems prevailed, resulting in irreconcilable versions of agricultural space on the early modern stage. As we will see, the manner in which early modern authors and dramatists imagined

⁴³ Thomas Dekker, *The Seuē deadly Sinnes of London* (London: 1606).

⁴⁴ Richard Wilson, 'Against the grain: representing the market in *Coriolanus*', *Seventeenth Century*, 6.2 (1991), pp. 111-148 (p. 111).

the countryside not only celebrated the consumption of rural produce, but also expressed unease about the socio-cultural effects of agricultural capitalism.

By default, Marxist historians have long described the transition from feudalism to capitalism as a linear transition, or even as a process of replacement.⁴⁵ John Martin, however, argues that feudalism and capitalism existed side by side in the early modern period: '[A]grarian capitalism in England was not part of an overarching political and economic structure: it was only one sector of a transitional economy still deeply imbued with feudalism.'⁴⁶ Joan Thirsk described seventeenth-century agricultural development as uneven, 'especially since farming systems were so numerous and varied.'⁴⁷ Indeed, John Appleby emphasises the long transitional period between nascent agrarian capitalism of the seventeenth century and the full-scale industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century. Crucially, there was nothing inevitable about the emergence of capitalism in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – agricultural capitalism 'was a startling departure from the norms that have prevailed for thousands of years.'⁴⁸ Duplessis concludes that not all landowners embraced the new system: 'Important innovations did appear in many parts of England, but only a few farmers adopted them, so nothing resembling an agricultural revolution took place.'⁴⁹ Indeed, Appleby estimates that 40 percent of arable land was not in the hands of innovative farmers:

Together the improving landlords and freeholders probably came to control about 60 percent of the arable land in England. [...] [L]andowners whose customary tenants enjoyed fixed rents, landlords who had no taste for managing their estates, and poor cottagers held the rest of the arable acreage in the country.⁵⁰

Feudalism, as A. J. Pollard argues, remained common in the north of England, a region which, as I argue in Chapter One, the court perceived uneasily due to its

⁴⁵ Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the development of capitalism*, revised edition (London: Routledge, 1963), pp. 20-21; Paul Sweezy, 'A critique', in *The transition from feudalism to capitalism*, ed. by Rodney Hilton (London: Verso, 1978), pp. 33-57 (p. 41).

⁴⁶ John E. Martin, *Feudalism to capitalism: peasant and landlord in English agrarian development* (London: Macmillan, 1983), p. 100.

⁴⁷ Thirsk, 'Seventeenth-century agriculture and social change', p. 76.

⁴⁸ Appleby, p. 12.

⁴⁹ Duplessis, p. 64.

⁵⁰ Appleby, p. 76.

'de facto independence'.⁵¹ Large and wealthy families such as the Nevilles and Percys 'tended to be as great a focus of local loyalty as the crown. These families enjoyed the backing of extensive affinities which existed over several generations. Their good lordship created stabilizing social bonds within the districts they dominated.'⁵² Local structures of seigniorial lordship and serfdom survived economic transformations. In other words, customary and feudal structures had been all but wiped out, but existed regionally alongside more profit-driven and innovative agricultural approaches. In this chapter, I will show how the commercial interplay between city and country resulted in the dramatic re-imagining of multivocal conceptions of agricultural green space on the early modern stage. If the initial early modern phase of capitalism was indeed, as Appleby suggests, an abrupt departure from a previous residual feudal norm, then we can trace this aberration, and the resistance it provoked, back to the contested manner agricultural green space was produced in Jacobean drama.

'Gentle propaganda' in favour of smaller, or self-managed farms, circulated in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, questioning large capital-reliant estates.⁵³ The most resonating collision between the two economic modes occurred in 1607. The Midlands Revolt, as Martin demonstrates, was a mode of resistance against the acceleration of capitalist agriculture.⁵⁴ The insurgents created their own version of green space, a counter-space which clashed with that of the expanding commercial culture. The revolt shook the foundations of London, creating a social and political crisis which further dissolved any clear boundaries between country and city. I focus on a number of dramatic and non-dramatic texts which were written before and after the events of 1607 and shed light on the rebels' concerns from different vantage points. If, on the one hand, theatres' imagined the countryside as an endless resource of wealth – a site where an investor satisfied his desires – on the other hand, theatrical counter-spaces metaphorically eroded the urban wall, symbolically reclaiming the space and assets the countryside lost to the marketplace. David Harvey has argued

⁵¹ A.J. Pollard, 'The characteristics of the fifteenth-century north', in *Government, religion, and society in northern England, 1000-1700*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 131-144 (p. 137).

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Thirsk, 'Seventeenth-century agriculture and social change', p. 81.

⁵⁴ Martin, p. 161.

that space is produced by the mobility of capital.⁵⁵ Indeed, agrarian capitalism reshuffled spatial connections in early modern drama. Theatres produced layered topologies of green space; the theatrical countryside was a projection of the marketplace's material desires - desires, as I will show, which portrayed the agricultural landscape as an eroticised and exploitable female body. Simultaneously, empty agrarian space was potentially rebellious, questioning and inverting the acceleration of commercial culture. These theatrical green spaces contested the national marketplace's sexualisation and implied rape of the land. Early modern theatres took part in a process of imagining the countryside in the light of these economic and cultural uncertainties, helping their audiences make sense of the complex shifts of the period. However, the collective multivocality of responses towards agricultural change complicates the dramatic understanding of green space. The result is a wide and incompatible range of simultaneously eroticised, destructive and customary interrelated topologies on the early modern stage which articulate the equally varied range of responses agricultural change triggered in the first decade of the seventeenth century

II. 'WAS THIS A TIME OF ALL TIMES TO DISTURBE THE PEACE OF THE LAND' THE MIDLANDS REVOLT AND THE CHALLENGE TO AGRICULTURAL CAPITALISM

The production of space is rarely uncontested. As I discuss in the introduction to this thesis, Lefebvre maintained that revolts create counter-spaces which resist previous conceptualisations of space.⁵⁶ For Janette Dillon, London's wall gestures towards the possibility of revolt and spatial upheaval: 'The conspicuous regulation of London's self-government might be read as indicative of anxiety regarding the perceived imminence of disorder rather than as pointing to a simple absence of disorder.'⁵⁷ Indeed, Roger Manning has shown how during the early Jacobean period, 116 recorded demonstrations and

⁵⁵ David Harvey, 'From space to place and back again: reflections on the condition of postmodernity', in *Mapping the futures: local cultures, global change*, ed. by Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson, and Lisa Tickner (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 3-30 (p. 6).

⁵⁶ Henri Lefebvre, 'Space and the state', in *State/space: a reader*, ed. by Neil Brenner, Bob Jessop, Martin Jones, and Gordon MacLeod (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 84-101 (p. 88); Henri Lefebvre, 'L'espace et l'état', in *De l'état IV: les contradictions de l'état moderne* (Paris: Union General d'Éditions, 1978), pp. 259-324.

⁵⁷ Dillon, pp. 26-27.

insurgences called for changes to the way the countryside was managed and organised.⁵⁸ 'The consequence was that pastoral-industrial areas not only experienced a larger number of riots [...], but also that their inhabitants came to be perceived of by their rulers as dangerous and riotous inhabitants of "dark corners of the land".'⁵⁹ The Midlands' Revolt and its aftermath represent the most resonating attempt at producing a counter-space and rejecting the advance of agrarian capitalism. James' response, as we will see, was not long in coming. In an attempt to contain these 'dark corners of the land', James' proclamations following the revolt re-wrote the countryside as inherently courtly and encouraging of innovative and capitalist means.

Triggered by economic difficulties, bad harvests and an impending dearth of grain, the Midlands' Revolt was set loose by a quickening of the enclosure movement. Following May Day festivities, a series of uprisings spread from Northamptonshire to Warwickshire and Leicestershire, with up to 9,000 villagers expressing their discontent.⁶⁰ Suppressing a riot of this extent was difficult, particularly as local authorities sympathised with the peasants on whom they relied on for nourishment. As the rising gathered momentum, mustering a militia became impossible. The crisis came to an end on 8 June, when an armed gentry-led vigilante force defeated the rebels at Newton. The extent to which the peasants rejected the capitalisation of rural space is apparent in the demands expressed in their manifesto, 'The Diggers of Warwickshire to all other Diggers':

They have depopulated and overthrown whole towns, and made thereof sheep pastures nothing profitable for our commonwealth. For the common fields being laid open would yield as much commodity, besides the increase of corn, on which stands our life.⁶¹

Wool and meat were more profitable than corn. Enclosing arable land and transforming it into pasture land advanced landlords' personal wealth at the

⁵⁸ Roger B. Manning, *Village revolts: social protest and popular disturbances in England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 31-107, 322-327.

⁵⁹ Andy Wood, *Riot, rebellion, and popular politics in early modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p. 87.

⁶⁰ Steve Hindle, 'Crime and popular protest', in *A companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. by Barry Coward (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 139; David Underdown, *Revel, riot, and rebellion: popular politics and culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) pp. 115-116; Manning, pp. 229-231.

⁶¹ *The writing of rural England, 1500-1800*, ed. by Andrew McRae and Stephen Bending (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 147.

cost of the local community. The manner in which the enclosure movement concentrated capital in entrepreneurial hands was emblematic of the rise of agricultural capitalism, but it was also where resistance towards it became most manifest.⁶² A lack of corn, the rebels claimed, would lead to redundancies and, in the event of further dearth, to famine. Although the rebels never desired to overthrow the king, they nonetheless promoted a rural utopian class-free society without civil or divine law.⁶³

Robert Wilkinson's assizes sermon, preached at the Northampton trials on 21 June, offers a glimpse into how the Midlands' Revolt was interpreted.

They will settle accompt with Clergie men, and counsell is given to kill vp Gentlemen, and they will levell all states as they levelled banks and ditches: and some of them boasted, that now they hoped to worke no more; the sword & the gallows making them true Prophets, and some of them in plaine termes, they thought that now the law was downe, as in times of common vproare, both ciuill and diuine law and all doe down: and what then shall wee thinke must haue beene the end of this? (F2v-F3r)⁶⁴

Annabel Patterson argued that the sermon rehearses 'literary strategies by which Wilkinson invokes sympathy for the insurgents even as he delegitimizes their intervention.' In negating the rebels' political objectives, Patterson acknowledges the powerful cultural work the sermon achieves, particularly after it was put to print. It destabilised the assumption that the rebels had no 'common power.'⁶⁵ Indeed, I would point out that the sermon describes the insurgents' ideal space as heterogeneous and opposed to agricultural individuality. The rebels threatened to level all walls and murder landowners. The sermon adds further weight to the Diggers' Manifesto in which the peasants called for a parochial agricultural system. Wilkinson notes that the rebels have fragmented the nation, or opened up alternative possibilities of cultivating, governing and sustaining arable lands and pastures.

Was this a time of all times to disturbe the peace of the land; now that King and state were so earnest in hand to vnite two kingdoms into one, now to attempt the rending of one kingdom into two? Into

⁶² Duplessis, p. 64.

⁶³ Martin, p. 175.

⁶⁴ Robert Wilkinson, *A Sermon Preached at North-Hampton* (London: 1607).

⁶⁵ Annabel Patterson, *Shakespeare and the popular voice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 140-141.

two? nay into ten; into ten thousand; and to bring it, not as *Ierem.*
2.28. *So many Citties so many Gods*, but so many men so many Kings,
and to make confusion of all[.](F3v)

The rebels resisted homogeneous forms of agriculture. Rather than maximising profit, they sought to redistribute the land and create endless parochial economies serving local communities. I argue that Wilkinson's sermon represents a symbolic resistance towards the enclosure of fields and the concomitant financial exploitation and commodification of rural England.⁶⁶ The literary discourse which emerged from the rebellion and Wilkinson's exploration of 'common power' fashioned the countryside as a potential rural utopia, free from proto-agricultural capitalist landowners, lawyers and courtiers, who James periodically sent back to the countryside. Instead, the insurgents sought the liberty to harvest and distribute their produce on a parochial and communal level.

An official response to the insurrection and to Wilkinson's discursive exploration of agricultural space in the hands of a devolved common power followed suit. On 28 June 1607, the Jacobean government released a proclamation aimed at those who 'have presumed lately to assemble themselves riotously in multitudes'.⁶⁷ Like the Oxfordshire Rising, the Midlands Revolt never reached London's walls. However, as in 1596, the monarch feared that the uprising might have spread by secret routes and would have eventually reached the capital.⁶⁸ Accordingly James dispatched his courtly confidants to the countryside where they could survey the development of rural affairs.

To which end we accordingly charge and command all our Lieutenants, Deputies Lieutenants, Sheriffes, Justices of Peace, and all other Magistrates of Justice under Us, and all other loving Subjects to whom it shall any ways appertaine, to doe and imploy their uttermost indeavours and forces for the keeping of our Subjects in peace and obedience, for prevention of all such riotous and rebellious Assemblies, and destroying then, (if any doe remaine, or shall happen to arise) by force of Armes, and by execution (even to present death) of such as shall make resistance.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ See also Geoff Kennedy, *Diggers, levellers, and agrarian capitalism: radical political thought in seventeenth century England* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2008), pp. 68-78.

⁶⁷ *Stuart royal proclamations volume I: royal proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, ed. by James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), p. 154.

⁶⁸ Patterson, pp. 136-138.

⁶⁹ *Stuart royal proclamations*, pp. 156-157.

The monarch reinforced his version of the countryside over that of the decentralised class-free space of the rebels. No more than a week after Wilkinson explored the ramifications and constitutional problems expressed in the rebels' demands, James re-established his panoptic control over rural England by way of his network of confidants.⁷⁰

Yet it was not just the rural gentry, landowners and loyal peasants James wanted to safeguard, but also the countryside's commodities and produce. In effect, James imagined the countryside as an exclusive provider of goods and resources. He promised to bring the revolutionaries to justice, but also to protect rural England from future destruction; the same proclamation also explains the city's and court's reliance on rural produce, laying claim to both rural bodies and assets.

For as Wee cannot but know, that the glorie and strength of all Kings consisteth in the multitude of Subjects, so may Wee not forget that it is a speciall and peculiar preheminance of those Countreyes, over which God hath placed Us, that they do excell in breeding and nourishing of able and serviceable people, both for Warre and Peace, which Wee doe justly esteeme above all Treasure and Commodities, which our said dominions do otherwise so plentifully yeeld unto Us. [...] if wee did consider nothing else, but that use and application which wee may make (as other Princes do) both of the bodies of our people to carrie armes for defence of our Crown, and of their goods and substance to supply our wants upon all just & responsible occasions, so as we may by many reasons sufficiently justify our care herein[.]⁷¹

In James' description, the countryside breeds bodies for the defence of city, monarch and nation, and it also supplies 'goods and substance' for the court and London. In response to the insurgents' parochial landscape, James re-imagines the countryside as London's breadbasket. If the rebels expressed their resolution to rule over their own space and commodities, the monarch was intent to dispatch gentlemen into the countryside to keep a watchful eye over it.⁷² The proclamation produces a countryside fit for royal means. Re-

⁷⁰ Exactly ten years after the Midlands' Uprising, James was again nervous about rural unrest. He announced that he would travel to Scotland, and that all 'Lieutenants [...] and also all Noblemen, Deputie Lieutenants, Knights and other Gentlemen of Qualitie, which have Mansion houses in this Country' should return to their country estates till the end of the 'Sommer vacation'. Ibid., p. 370.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 155.

⁷² Manning, p. 235.

structuring and organising the countryside as well as filling rural space with confidants recruited from gentry and aristocracy was a defensive measure against social unrest – I argue in Chapter One that the Robin Hood tradition was gentrified and re-invented under similar literary strategies. In effect, the royal proclamations overlay the space beyond the city wall with an urbanised version of green space; by way of exporting ‘the civic and humanist ethos of a service nobility’, James disseminated his approved urbanised version of the countryside, populated by the same citizens, courtiers and lawyers who also organised the nation’s material supplies.⁷³ With this centralised and profit-oriented understanding of green space in mind, it is only to be expected that the rebels would ‘disturb the peace of the land’, to create independent territories, rendering one kingdom into ten thousand parochial and feudal realms.

It has been recognised for over sixty years that the 1607 uprising had a profound impact on London’s theatrical output. E. C. Pettett established the relationship between the insurgence and Shakespeare’s *Coriolanus* (1608) in 1950. The Roman tragedy differs from its source text, Plutarch’s *Lives*, to the extent that Rome’s sustenance crisis is the driving force of the plebeians’ unrest. Given Shakespeare’s ownership of land in Warwickshire, one of the rebellion’s hot spots, Pettett concludes that the tragedy ‘reflects the natural reactions of a man of substance to a recent mob rising in his country.’⁷⁴ Shakespeare, Pettett suggests, portrays the revolutionaries in a negative light, reflecting not only the innate social conservatism of the early modern period, but also the self-interest and social attitudes of the landowning playwright himself. Putting biographical speculations aside, Patterson rejected the seemingly proven conservative nature of the play. Instead, she argues, ‘Shakespeare’s audience is invited to contemplate an alternative political system’.⁷⁵ The play addresses the people’s political consciousness which might connect the immediate injustice of a sustenance crisis with the failures and inequality of unrepresentative government; ‘the play as a whole worries more about the constitution, and how

⁷³ Felicity Heal, ‘The crown, the gentry, and London: the enforcement of proclamation, 1596-1640’, in *Law and government under the Tudors: essays presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton regius professor of modern history in the university of Cambridge on the occasion of his retirement*, ed. by Claire Cross, David Loades, and J.J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 211-227 (p. 215).

⁷⁴ E.C. Pettett, ‘Coriolanus and the Midlands insurrection of 1607’, *Shakespeare Survey*, 3 (1950), pp. 34-42 (p. 39).

⁷⁵ Patterson, p. 127.

it is possible to define and limit such a previously unspeakable concept as common power.⁷⁶ Now that Patterson has freed the dramatic negotiation of the rebellion from a socially conservative context, the events of 1607 offer new possibilities for understanding how theatres debated country politics for their audiences.⁷⁷

John Fletcher was particularly aware of the uprising and its local consequences, argues Gordon McMullan.⁷⁸ By way of his patronage connection with the Huntingdons and frequent visits to Ashby

[Fletcher's] plays repeatedly examine political questions of the kind foregrounded by the revolt, questions first broached in print by Wilkinson's sermon. It is as if this context of unrest [...] made him always a little uneasy about the politics of the land. For every country idyll that his plays set up in contrast to life at court, there is a concomitant possibility of violence in the fields and trees.⁷⁹

McMullan discusses *The Faithful Shepherdess*, which I will address in the following chapter, and *Wit Without Money* (1614-1616) in the context of the Midlands Revolt. Both plays reject enclosure practices and city control of the land – 'an apparent reference to the adverse effects that Fletcher's circle considers enclosure and land rationalization to have had in the country.'⁸⁰ In this chapter, I discuss a third play by Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed, or The Woman's Prize*, which also negotiates the countryside's relationship with the city, although less overtly than *The Faithful Shepherdess* or *Wit Without Money*. But perhaps *because The Woman's Prize's* connection with the revolt is less obvious than is the other two plays, Fletcher, like Shakespeare in *Coriolanus*, could afford to be more outspoken and radical in his re-negotiation of the rebellion. The result is perhaps Fletcher's most radical discussion of agricultural politics. In the light of economic transitions and his patron's and milieu's concerns with the local effects of agricultural capitalist trends, *The Woman's*

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 141.

⁷⁷ See also Elyssia Y. Cheng, 'Moral economy and the politics of food riots in *Coriolanus*', *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, 36.2 (2010), pp. 17-31; David George, 'Plutarch, insurrection, and dearth in *Coriolanus*', in *Shakespeare and Politics*, ed. by Catherine M.S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 110-129; Wilson, 'Against the grain', pp. 111-148.

⁷⁸ Gordon McMullan, *The politics of unease in the plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), p. 54.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 54.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

Prize, I will demonstrate, reverses the enclosure patterns enacted in the Midlands. In order to understand the revolutionary character of Fletcher's comedy, I will first turn my attention to Thomas Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* and William Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, written just before *The Woman's Prize*, in order to demonstrate the wide range of responses to agricultural change and the contradictory and homeomorphic conceptions of agricultural green spaces with which Fletcher's play engaged.

Overall, I wish to argue that the manner in which *Michaelmas Term*, *Epicoene*, *Timon of Athens* and *The Woman's Prize* produced green space reflected both the hopes and concerns early modern society invested into shifting economic values. If the royal proclamations referred to rural 'bodies of our people' as valuable assets, I will demonstrate how early modern dramatists explored and inverted the acceleration of agrarian capitalism by way of gendering agricultural topologies. Harkening back to mother-earth folklore, dramatists filled the empty green space James was uneasy about in the aftermath of the revolt with various female characters. Recent ecocritics have emphasised the extent to which early modern texts metaphorically compared women with nature.⁸¹

Women are discursively, politically, and materially analogous with Nature [...], not simply on the level of imagined genital nothingness, but on the level of their ideological function. Effectively voiceless (except as imagined menace and threat), an object of masculine desires for control, and a resource to be husbanded and managed, the natural environment and women are each potentially a profound threat to masculine control when things go awry.'⁸²

In a period when the land became more valuable, yielding higher profits than ever, control and surveillance over the land became a concern, as James'

⁸¹ Sylvia Lorraine Bowerbank, *Speaking for nature: women and ecologies of early modern England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), p. 5; Will Fisher, *Materializing gender in early modern literature and culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 16-17. Burt and Archer suggest that enclosure and sexuality were linked in early modern discourse. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer, 'Introduction', in *Enclosure acts: sexuality, property, and culture in early modern England*, ed. by Richard Burt and John Michael Archer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 1-13.

⁸² Simon Estok, 'Shakespeare and ecocriticism: an analysis of home and power in *King Lear*', *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association*, 103 (2005), pp. 15-41 (p. 23). For further discussions on the connection between women and nature in the early modern period, see Kate Soper, *What is nature?: culture, politics, and the non-human* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 7; Carolyn Merchant, *The death of nature: women, ecology, and the scientific revolution* (London: Harper & Roe, 1980), p. 3.

speeches highlight. The material and financial riches and the concomitant desires and fantasies the agricultural landscape evoked were negotiated in contemporary drama by staging country wenches, country forces and country prostitutes to represent the politics of the land. By way of gendering the representatives of agricultural green space and desire, early modern plays imagined the land to fulfil an investor's wildest – even erotic – dreams, but also, as Estok implies, reflect danger and destruction.

III. 'TO SEE HOW THE THOUGHT OF GREEN FIELDS PUTS A MAN INTO SWEET INVENTIONS': CITY COMEDIES AND THE GENDERED COMMODIFICATION OF GREEN SPACES

City comedies – plays which stage the social relations between merchants, gentry and women in a specifically contemporary London setting – flourished between 1603 and 1613.⁸³ However, I would suggest that city plays are as much about the city's relationship with its extramural green spaces as they are about the city itself. In a period when the protective wall was perceived to be dissolving, Middleton and Jonson put emphasis on a symbolic mural boundary around the city. Nonetheless, the city wall remained permeable, if only for the importation of specific commodities. On the early modern stage, the relationship between urban and rural space, I argue, is explored through gendered exchanges which subject the countryside to the economic desires and exploitative prerogatives of a rapacious and implicitly masculine city.

Early modern society increasingly understood London as a marketplace dominated by new variations of fluid and omnipresent commercial exchange.⁸⁴ Susan Wells has observed that throughout the early modern period, the city's marketplaces developed from sites of communal and social gathering into places exclusively used for exchange and profit.⁸⁵ Gail Kern Paster has defined

⁸³ Theodore B. Leinwand, *The city staged: Jacobean comedy, 1603-1616* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 7.

⁸⁴ Douglas Bruster, *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 14-19; Andrew McRae, *God speed the plough: the representation of agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 100.

⁸⁵ Susan Wells, 'Jacobean city comedy and the ideology of the city', *English Literary History*, 48.1 (1981), pp. 37-60 (p. 38).

the city accordingly as 'a collection of appetites.'⁸⁶ I wish to demonstrate the extent to which dramatic works imagined London's wall as selective in admitting specific exterior rural commodities in order to satisfy that urban appetite. City comedies explore the development of agricultural capitalism and the city's increased appetite for rural produce and profit. The theatre negotiates this urban-rural relationship by way of a sexualised mother-earth vocabulary. Indeed, the comedies produce the empty extramural agricultural countryside as a gendered object for the city's erotic demands.

Rhonda Lemke Sanford has argued that city comedies 'usually distinguish between insider and outsider, citizen and stranger, and almost always feature a hapless victim (usually a country gentleman) preyed upon by both the city and its citizens.'⁸⁷ These naive rural visitors and their possessions are the focal point of the city comedy's quest for material accumulation. If James would perceive agricultural green space as a supplier of bodies and goods in 1607, Jonson's and Middleton's city comedies pre-empt this discursive appropriation of the countryside; London is portrayed as a 'ruthless and competitive predatory cycle. [...] In such a city, the idea of community means that each character defines place only in terms of self-interest. The members of this community have ties not to each other, but only a direct tie of self-interest and survival of the city.'⁸⁸ In Jonson's *Epicoene* and Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* the countryside falls victim to the city and repeatedly becomes a suppliant of eroticised commodities. In a time when the symbolic physical boundary of the city was losing its currency, two playwrights closely linked to London's urban culture would imagine the countryside as a projection site of the city's sexual appetite. The wall is upheld for defensive purposes, keeping the countryside far enough in the distance, while simultaneously remaining permeable for the importation of consumer goods.

Jonson's *Epicoene, or The Silent Woman* was first performed in December 1609 or January 1610 by the Children of the Queen's Revels at the private Whitefriars playhouse. Morose, a wealthy old Londoner with a pathological hatred for noise, plans to disinherit his nephew Dauphine by marrying

⁸⁶ Gail Kern Paster, *The idea of the city in the age of Shakespeare* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), p. 154.

⁸⁷ Lemke Sanford, pp. 100-101.

⁸⁸ Kern Paster, p. 151-152. See also McRae, pp. 98-111.

Epicoene, a young women believed to be exceptionally silent. Little does he know that Dauphine has made plans of his own; the whole match is a setup. After the ceremonial marriage rites are over, Epicoene turns out to be loud and nagging. She invites an assortment of riotous *nouveaux riches* Londoners to her house and soon Morose is desperate for a divorce and turns to his nephew. In return for his inheritance, Dauphine reveals that Epicoene is in fact a boy in disguise and that the marriage was therefore never valid. The plot highlights how money and the accumulation of more goods feature as the play's motivating force. The gallants, who have only recently achieved their prestigious financial status, best display how the countryside was seen as a resource to fulfil their sexual desires.⁸⁹

Amorous La Foole is one of those riotous guests. He is never short of money as he has devised the perfect scheme to cash in on green space:

LA FOOLE I had as fair a gold jerkin on that day as any was worn in the Island Voyage or at Cadiz, none dispraised, and I came over in it hither, showed myself to my friends in court and after went down to my tenants in the country, and surveyed my lands, let new leases, took their money, spent it in the eye o'the land here, upon ladies – and now I can take up my pleasure. (I.iv.58-64)⁹⁰

La Foole repeats this pattern whenever he needs to; he describes rural England as a bottomless financial source, providing him with the currency to satisfy his erotic pursuits in London.⁹¹ He surveys his property, draws new boundaries and, on the basis of those, issues more expensive leases. Indeed, surveyors were suspect figures; they replaced a land organised by custom with one which subjected the land to new monetary forces. As Bernhard Klein argues, land surveyors imposed a centrally regulated and tidied version of rural space.⁹² 'This disciplinary aspect is already contained in the very word "survey" with its revealing cognate "surveillance".'⁹³ 'Economic power, including ownership of

⁸⁹ P.K. Ayers, 'Dreams of the city: the urban and the urbane in Jonson's *Epicoene*', *Philological Quarterly*, 66.1 (1987), pp. 73-86 (p. 74).

⁹⁰ Ben Jonson, *Epicoene, or The Silent Woman*, ed. by Roger Holdsworth (London: Methuen, 1979).

⁹¹ Sullivan, pp. 9-11.

⁹² Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the writing of space in early modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 49.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

land [...] increasingly passed into new hands, particularly into the hands of the urban wealthy, and commercial and rentier capitalists.⁹⁴ London's pivotal position as 'the eye o'the land' is central to La Foole's scheme. In his perception, London is not only the centre of the English economy – the place where imported goods and bodies enter the marketplace – but London also casts its gaze – a gaze that is both protective and policing – over the green spaces. Jonson's city comedy imagines the countryside as subject to London's gaze, providing rural consumer goods as well as the predatory needs for its male inhabitants.⁹⁵

Thomas Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* underlines London's rapacious one-way mode of exchange whilst further eroticising England's green spaces. Entered in the Stationer's Register in 1607, the play was performed by the Children of Paul's.⁹⁶ While Swapan Chakravorty argues that *Michaelmas Term* achieves a 'dissolution of the ideological opposition of country and city', I believe that the play legitimises the exploitation of rural resources by way of projecting eroticised desires into the countryside.⁹⁷ As we will see, the play also inverts its own gendered dichotomy, complicating the understanding between rural and urban commercial exchange. The play centres on two rural inhabitants who enter the city and are subjected to the predatory machinations of the marketplace. As the London gallants gleefully remark upon seeing one of the newly arrivals, 'he is but fresh | And wants the city powd'ring' (I.ii.59-60).⁹⁸ Chakravorty observes that city comedies 'establish the drive for money and sex as the motor of human behaviour'.⁹⁹ Indeed, an agrarian capitalist drive determined the gendered production of the countryside in *Michaelmas Term*,

⁹⁴ Musgrave, p. 5.

⁹⁵ Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (1616) stages a nearly identical rural-urban relationship as *Epicoene*. Meercraft, a projector of ludicrous moneymaking ideas, promises to drain large stretches of fens and to generate money for his investor. Drainage of fens were large-scale projects in seventeenth-century England, involving considerable financial risks but potentially also substantial gains. The play commodifies the countryside at the cost of enormous social upheaval for the existing inhabitants of the land. 'The play epitomizes the exploitation of a pre-existing rural order by the acquisitive ethos of the city.' McRae, p. 105.

⁹⁶ Theodore B. Leinwand, 'Michaelmas Term', in *Thomas Middleton: the collected works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), pp. 334-336 (p. 336).

⁹⁷ Swapan Chakravorty, *Society and politics in the plays of Thomas Middleton* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 45.

⁹⁸ *Michaelmas Term*, ed. by Theodore B. Leinwand, in *Thomas Middleton: the collected works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), pp. 337-372.

⁹⁹ Chakravorty, p. 44.

producing contested green spaces as the site where all kinds of satisfaction can be achieved.

Ephestian Quomodo, a wool draper, seeks financial advancement. The arrival of Richard Easy, a gentleman from Essex, provides him with an opportunity to seize his lands and possessions. Quomodo tricks Easy into bankruptcy, forcing him to sign over his lands. Foolishly, Quomodo overreaches; having claimed the lands in Essex, he stages his own death to ensure that his son does not squander his inheritance. The plan goes awry. Easy reclaims his lands and even marries Thomasine, Quomodo's wife. The subplots involve Quomodo's daughter Susan who has to choose whether she will marry Lethe, a Scottish upstart or Rearage, an absentee landowner. Furthermore, a Country Wench is taken to London to serve Lethe as a mistress. I now look at the Country Wench and Richard Easy, two rural foreigners in London, in order to demonstrate how the city is represented in the play as a competitive marketplace within which the characters fantasise about an endlessly resourceful and erotic countryside.

Hellgill, a pander, has found a Country Wench in Northamptonshire for Lethe's carnal desires. For Hellgill, the prospect of being a city whore is superior to rural life.

COUNTRY WENCH	Beshrew you, now, why did you entice me from my father?
HELLGILL	Why? To thy better advancement. Wouldst thou, a pretty beautiful, juicy squall, live in a poor thrummed house i'th' country in such servile habiliments, and may well pass for a gentlewoman i'th' city? (I.iii.2-7)

Crucially, the Country Wench is brought to the city against her will. The city, Hellgill's speech implies, will enable the girl to increase her social capital. Indeed, country women were 'imported' into London in the seventeenth century. Forced out of their agricultural communities by enclosure and other agricultural innovations, Paul Griffiths describes how '[t]he stream of "country wenches" coming with carriers caught the greedy eyes of "agent[s] of corruption", like pimps who hung around drop-off spots with phony promises of jobs. Katherine Fuller, who ran "a notorious bawdie house" in Clerkenwell, took "countrie wenches from the carriers" and put "them into gentlemens [sic]

apparel" to "plaie the whore."¹⁰⁰ For the newly arrived country women, burdened by debt, putting their body to the wilful abuse of the city's needs was an undesirable but often unavoidable option.¹⁰¹ Hellgill has taken advantage of the impoverished country wench's situation; she is described as an imported trade commodity, and in London she will be immersed into the 'city trade' (I.iii.47).

Shortly after, the Country Wench's Father arrives. He has been to London before, but was cheated and tricked out of all his possessions.

FATHER Woe worth th'infected cause that makes me visit
 This man-devouring city, where I spent
 My unshapen youth, to be my ages curse,
 And surfeited away my name and state
 In swinish riots, that now, being sober,
 I do awake a beggar. (II.ii.20-25)

The Father was 'devoured' by the city, lost his wealth and spat out as a 'beggar'. As a victim to the city's predatory marketplace, the Father has still not learnt his lesson; he is duped yet again and employed as a servant to his own daughter without either recognising the other. Later in the play, the Country Wench accepts her status as a rural commodity:

[COUNTRY WENCH] Do not all trades live by their ware, and yet
 called honest livers? Do they not thrive best
 when they utter most, and make it away by the
 great? Is not wholesale the chiefest
 merchandise? Do you think some merchants
 could keep their wives so brave but for their
 wholesale? (IV.ii.11-15)

Her bawdy pun on 'wholesale' and 'ware' – referring to both merchandise and genitalia - stresses the extent to which she has embraced her position as a tradable rural asset.¹⁰² At the end of the play, the judge punishes all urban over-reachers and the Country Wench must marry Lethe. 'There's no removing of your punishment', the judge announces, 'Marry your quean and be quiet!' (V.iii.131, 138). The Country Wench's position as a rural commodity does not

¹⁰⁰ Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: change, crime, and control in the capital city, 1550-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 149.

¹⁰¹ Duncan Salkeld, *Shakespeare among the courtesans: prostitution, literature, and drama, 1500-1650* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 20.

¹⁰² *OED Online*, ware, n.^{3.4}c.

change throughout the play: by the end, she becomes a means of punishment by which the judge harnesses Lethe's ambitions. Instead of acquiring rural wealth, his aspirations are tied down with the devalued Country Wench. As a female body imported into the urban marketplace, the Country Wench's value drops. Initially an item of erotic and exotic fantasy, she loses her most valuable qualities – her exoticism and discretion – in the public courtroom and ends up as a means to punish a foreign upstart. I argue that the Country Wench remains an imported rural commodity throughout the play – what changes is her value in a marketplace-like surrounding. She fails to yield returns for Hellgill's investment. Richard Easy's sojourn in the urban marketplace is even more explicit in representing the marketplace's hunger for rural commodities. Indeed, his rural asset, his land, is described in gendered terms and caters to the city's sexual desires.

Easy is introduced by way of his exploitable possessions: 'One Master Easy, h'as good land in Essex, | A free-breasted gentleman, somewhat too open' (I.ii.56-57). Quomodo's greed never seems problematic in the city in which he operates: 'There are means and ways enough to hook in gentry', and he will get busy 'bout [his] lands' (I.ii.110-111).¹⁰³ Indeed, 'Gentry is the chief fish we tradesmen catch' (I.ii.135). Quomodo projects his fantasy onto the countryside he desires to claim.

QUOMODO O, that sweet, neat, comely, proper, delicate parcel of
land, like fine gentlewoman i'th' waist, delicate so
great as pretty, pretty; the trees in summer whistling,
the silver waters by the banks harmoniously gliding.
(II.iii.91-94)

The play maps sexualised male desires into the country – Easy's lands are portrayed as female and ready for exploitation. Like Hellgill and the Country Wench, Quomodo has sourced the Essex lands as particularly desirable and will now forcefully claim them.¹⁰⁴ Rural commodities are sought after in London; indeed, 'credit determines the social fantasies of mercantile London and shapes the system of belief by which characters live their lives.'¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Wells, p. 51.

¹⁰⁴ McRae, p. 102.

¹⁰⁵ Aaron Kitch, 'The character of credit and the problem of belief in Middleton's city comedies', *Studies in English Literature*, 47.2 (2007), pp. 403-426 (p. 422).

QUOMODO [*aside*] Now I begin to set foot upon the land.
Methinks I am felling of trees already; we shall
have some Essex logs yet to keep Christmas
with, and that's a comfort. (II.iii.374-377)

Quomodo fantasises about importing the land's commodities into London and reaping the social and mercantile credit, in particular the women's admiration:

QUOMODO Now come my golden days in.
- Whither is the worshipful Master Quomodo and his
fair bedfellow rid forth? - To his land in Essex! -
Whence comes those goodly load of logs? - From his
land in Essex! - Where grows his pleasant fruit, say
one citizen's wife in the Row. - At Master Quomodo's
orchard in Essex. - O, O does it so? I thank you for
that good news, i'faith. (III.iv.12-19)

The idea of importing logs and thereby warmth into the capital is of particular significance for Quomodo – 'I long | To warm myself by th' wood' (IV.i.75-76) – as is the concomitant social advancement which the logs and exotic fruit guarantee to bestow upon him. In a rare moment of self-reflection, Quomodo observes how the countryside puts him into a poetic frame of mind: 'the very thought of green fields puts a man into sweet inventions' (IV.ii.86-87). Quomodo admits that he devises or constructs, fashions and designs the Essex lands through his 'sweet', that is erotic, poetic 'inventions'.¹⁰⁶ The play negotiates the potential which the quickening of agricultural capitalism promised in gendered terms. Middleton lets his characters imagine England's agricultural spaces as a cash cow – a means to acquire wealth and commodities, but also social advancement, speedily. Furthermore, those commodities, whether they be, in James' terms, 'bodies' – the Country Wench – or 'goods and substance to supply our wants' – Easy's land, logs and orchard fruits – are the prerogative of an implicitly masculine city, an 'eye o'th land' which preys on feminised green spaces.

In *A Mad World, My Masters* (1604-1607) Middleton establishes an identically gendered rural-urban exchange. Follywit and his urban gang repeatedly rob Master Bounteous, a rich country resident, at his estate. Sexual desire, the urban marketplace and the bounty of the countryside are conflated

¹⁰⁶ *OED Online*, invention, *n.*†5.; †sweet, *adj.* and *adv.* 10.b.

in the language of a single speech when Follywit finds his casket in Bounteous' country estate.

FOLLYWIT Now, casket, by your leave, I have seen your outside oft, but that's no proof. Some have fair outsides that are nothing worth. [*Breaking casket open*] Ha! Now by my faith, a gentlewoman of very good parts: diamond, ruby, sapphire, *onyx cum prole silexque*! If I do not wonder how the quean 'scaped tempting, I'm a hermaphrodite. (IV.iii.38-44)¹⁰⁷

The notion of cracking open rural wealth resonates with rape and is congruent with the exploitative, even violent exploitation of female bodies and goods in *Michaelmas Term*. I have argued that the city comedies produce a rural commercial utopia. The countryside is a space onto which the individual can project fantasies of endless wealth and erotic satisfaction. Green space, here imagined as female, is an endlessly exploitable resource for male urban appetites – a site where the 'eye o'th' land' can reap the benefits of bodies and goods.

Middleton's sexualised relationship between city and country, which reflects a culture of agricultural profit maximisation, however, is not quite as schematic. At the end of *Michaelmas Term*, Middleton introduces a twist – a topological inversion which will resonate a lot more strongly in *Timon of Athens* and particularly Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize*. Eventually, Easy gets away unscathed. Middleton, Leinwand argues, strives for balance, as Easy is not left as impoverished as the Country Wench's Father.¹⁰⁸ Easy wins the pity of Thomasine Quomodo who restores his possessions before marrying him. However, I would argue that this is only due to his land ownership and her husband's lack thereof. Essentially, extramural green space remains a commodity to be brought into possession by greedy Londoners. Middleton seems cynically to imply that marriage is the ultimate means by which to assert a claim to the rural wealth imagined to be hidden in the countryside. Earlier in the play, Thomasine favours Rearage over Lethe to marry her daughter. She does so not because Susan actually loves Rearage, but because he has access to

¹⁰⁷ *A Mad World, My Masters*, ed. by Peter Saccio, in *Thomas Middleton: the collected works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), pp. 417-451.

¹⁰⁸ Leinwand, 'Michaelmas Term', p. 335.

rural wealth. Comparing the suitors, she concludes that Rearage's landed wealth is more attractive than Lethe's lack of space and money.

THOMASINE Master Rearage has land and living, t'other but his walk i'th' street, and his snatching diet. He's able to entertain you in a fair house of his own, t'other in some nook or corner, or place behind the cloth like a company of puppets. At his house you shall be served curiously, sit down and eat your meat with leisure; there must we be glad to take it standing, and without either salt, cloth, or trencher, and say we are befriended too. (II.iii.64-71)

Thomasine's description of Rearage and Lethe could be equally mapped onto Easy and her husband. When Quomodo fakes his own death, Thomasine marries Easy, and heeds her own advice. Thomasine, I argue, is not exempt from projecting material fantasies onto extramural green space. Middleton turns the gendering of profitable green space inside-out. In addition to the exploitative male fantasy, at the end of the play, Easy's and Rearage's lands come to reflect a woman's desires as well – in the case of *Michaelmas Term*, these are luxury foods, accommodation, cloths and other merchandise, an idea Fletcher will further elaborate on and satirise in *The Woman's Prize*. I argue that Thomasine has found the most effective way of appropriating and importing the rural treasures she perceives as desirable – a technique more effective than the elaborate schemes of her (ex-)husband. In doing so, the play both inverts and adds layers to the gendered portrayal of inexhaustibly lucrative green spaces beyond London's city wall which represent both male and female desires.

Leinwand argues that Middleton portrays London as a socializing sphere – a site which grants rural newcomers an opportunity to make the most of the social and financial circuits of the city, having first passed through an initiation rite in which they must suffer humiliation and deception.¹⁰⁹ However, I have argued that the city comedies imagine the countryside, whether in the case of the Country Wench or Richard Easy, through gendered imagery as a material resource for alternatively male or female desires. Most importantly, Middleton and Jonson never give the countryside the opportunity to participate in an economic drive equivalent to that of London. The agricultural countryside is a site where resources are accumulated or, as in Follywit's case, cracked open and

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 336.

raped. Extramural green space is a site of sexualised fantasies and immeasurable riches. Even though she embraces the urban lifestyle, the Country Wench suffers only losses, just as her father had previously. Easy comes out on the other side with a new wife, but his landed status and the concomitant rise in living standards is the only reason why Thomasine ran into his arms. The play imagines green spaces as gendered rural utopias – cornucopias of goods and wealth to satisfy an urban population. Whereas Wilkinson, in the aftermath of the 1607 rebellion would claim that the peasants wished to level society, get rid of the legal system and ‘hoped to worke no more,’ the rural utopia of the earlier city comedies offer a homeomorphic opposite of such agricultural green space (F2r). As ‘eye o’th’ land’, the urban marketplace capitalises on gendered green spaces until the urban citizens can live a life of material satisfaction and leisure. London’s wall admits the entrance of commodities and goods, but not that of dissent and rebellion. As Paster put it, ‘*Michaelmas Term* is also the play in which Middleton most strongly emphasizes the city’s sense of itself as a world apart, with its natural law and internal dynamic.’¹¹⁰ City comedies imagine the green spaces of the countryside as a simulacrum – something which does not necessarily have any relation to reality, but instead becomes a gendered sign constituting its own reality, or hyperreality.¹¹¹ For *Quomodo*, *La Fool* and *Thomasine*, but probably also for any proto-capitalist landowners in the theatre, the countryside was a sign of the city’s dreams of wealth and sex.

I have demonstrated how Jonson’s and Middleton’s city comedies emphasise a hierarchy between London and the extramural green space which prioritised London’s material predation over its rural periphery. London regulates the flow of commodities and coordinates the natural spaces’ bodies and goods for its own satisfaction. Middleton’s and Jonson’s city comedies turn the ‘eye o’th’ land’ on the green spaces of the countryside. Commercial and erotic interests are conflated into a single desire and sprawl beyond the wall into the countryside where rural space, bodies and goods are eroticised and exploited. Shakespeare’s and Fletcher’s plays, however, were more outspoken about the negative aspects of agricultural capitalism on urban and parochial communities. *Timon of Athens* builds on Middleton’s gendered imagination of

¹¹⁰ Kern Paster, p. 173.

¹¹¹ Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and simulation*, trans. by Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004; repr. 2010), p. 6.

the agricultural landscape. Whereas the wall in *Michaelmas Term* was selective in letting rural produce into the city in order to appease the city's hunger, *Timon of Athens* stages an alternative outcome to the advancement of agricultural capitalism.

IV. 'O THOU WALL | THAT GIRDLES IN THOSE WOLVES' *TIMON OF ATHENS* AND THE SELF-DESTRUCTION OF THE MARKETPLACE

Although *Timon of Athens*, written just before *Coriolanus* in 1607, is not set in London, it is nevertheless in certain ways an oblique representation of the English capital and its environment.¹¹² As Alexander Leggatt notes, 'Shakespeare's imagination, like those of his contemporaries, was fuller of information and ideas about Rome and Athens. It was therefore easier for Athens to be to him a generic city, reflecting not so much a particular history or culture as the general idea of city-ness.'¹¹³ By setting the play in a foreign and ancient city, early modern playwrights could engage with Jacobean discourse in abstract terms.¹¹⁴ Jonson and Middleton, I have argued, stage urban greed over peripheral extramural green spaces. A gendered countryside is the site for the projection of the material and erotic desires of both its male and female citizens. In *Timon*, Shakespeare and Middleton absorb the concerns of an increasingly porous city wall in the light of an emerging commercial culture. According to Sharon O'Dair the play captures the moment an emerging capitalist economy transforms societal structures.¹¹⁵ *Timon*, I suggest, produces a countryside which turns commerce against the city – it inverts the space imagined in

¹¹² Anthony B. Dawson and Gretchen E. Minton, 'Introduction', in *Timon of Athens*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Cengage, 2008), p. 18.

¹¹³ Alexander Leggatt, 'The disappearing wall: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Timon of Athens*', in *Shakespeare and the Mediterranean: the selected proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress Valencia, 2001*, ed. by Tom Clayton, Susan Brock, and Vicente Forés (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), pp. 194-205 (p. 195); see also Carlo Pagetti, 'Shakespeare's tale of two cities: London and Rome', in *Identity, otherness, and empire in Shakespeare's Rome*, ed. by Maria Del Sapio Garbero (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 145-155 (p. 151).

¹¹⁴ For examples of how *Timon's* Athens engages with elements of Jacobean discourse, see Robert S. Miola, 'Timon in Shakespeare's Athens', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 31.1 (1980), pp. 21-30; Coppélia Kahn, "'Magic of bounty": *Timon of Athens*, Jacobean patronage, and maternal power', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 38.1 (1987), pp. 34-57; David Bevington and David L. Smith, 'James I and *Timon of Athens*', *Comparative Drama*, 33.1 (1999), pp. 56-87.

¹¹⁵ Sharon O'Dair, 'The life of *Timon of Athens*', in *Thomas Middleton: the collected works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), pp. 467-470 (p. 470).

Michaelmas Term; an insatiable hunger for sexualised commodities and services from its rural periphery destroys Athenian social structures, including the walled boundary distinguishing the centre from the periphery.

In *Timon of Athens*, Shakespeare collaborated with Middleton who, in *Michaelmas Term* and *A Mad World, My Masters*, portrayed rural green space as a sexualised site for the marketplace's satisfaction. As I will show, *Timon* shares some of these features with Quomodo's London. Yet, the collaborative effort of Shakespeare and Middleton results in a somewhat more complicated and contradictory relationship between the urban and the rural. Dawson and Minton have suggested that 'cross-fertilization' leads to the play's oddity; while each author held on to his unique characteristics, 'their separateness is sometimes blurred or complicated by the process of working together and adapting to each other's habits.'¹¹⁶ Although it is impossible to prove which playwright wrote which scene, their ideas and politics clash and contradict each other within the same text. Spatial distinctions, as a result, are equally blurred, or contradictory. Athens is initially congruent with Quomodo's London; at the same time, the city is predatory and wild, not the extramural green spaces. The maximisation of profit, in particular, is the reason behind the untamed nature of Athens and its critics, notably Apemantus, compare it to the savagery of the natural world. The increasing demand for rural produce and the lingering threat of self-destructive cannibalism eventually destroys the city. *Timon of Athens*, I argue, draws on a gendered imagery to explore economic change and negotiate the extent to which those changes manipulated the city's relationship with its surrounding. The play stages the dark side of the marketplace's desire for produce; the appetite for rural commodities turns the city into a site of 'bestly ambition' and cannibalism before eventually levelling it to the ground. Whilst the wall can protect Athens from a rural rebellion, it cannot protect the city from itself (IV.iii.326).¹¹⁷

Athens benefits from rural resources; the city feeds on Timon's '[m]agic of bounty' (I.i.6). The protagonist nurtures his urban dependants – he is 'a kind of

¹¹⁶ Dawson/Minton, pp. 2-4.

¹¹⁷ William Shakespeare and Thomas Middleton, *Timon of Athens*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Anthony B. Dawson and Gretchen E. Minton (London: Cengage Learning, 2008).

mother earth figure'.¹¹⁸ All living creatures are indebted to his material and maternal generosity: '[A]ll minds, | As well of glib and slippery creatures as | Of grave and austere quality, tender down | Their services to Lord Timon' (I.i.54-57). His wealth feeds the city and its citizens. However, his prosperity comes from extramural green spaces. Embodying Quomodo's dream, Timon generates his wealth through rents and commodities drawn from lands extending as far as Lacedaemon (i.e. Sparta) (II.ii.151).¹¹⁹ Not unlike La Foole, Timon's first reaction to his impending financial meltdown is to re-capitalise his green spaces:

TIMON	Let all my lands be sold
FLAVIUS	'Tis all engaged, some forfeited and gone, And what remains will hardly stop the mouth Of present dues; the future comes apace. (II.ii.145-148)

Rural wealth flows through Timon into the city where the Athenian marketplace accumulates its affluence. Apemantus alludes to the city's idolatry of commerce and marketplace: 'Traffic's thy god', he accuses the Athenians (I.i.243). When Timon's wealth is exhausted, or when the green spaces become barren, the protagonist quickly loses his mother-earth-like prerogatives:

LUCIUS' SERVANT	I fear 'tis deepest winter in Lord Timon's purse – That is, one may reach deep enough and yet Find little. (III.iv.14-16)
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Reflecting the cycle of nature, Timon's fortunes have turned to winter and his resources can no longer be harvested; his lands have lost their fertility. Timon can no longer satisfy the city's appetite for rural commodities; while at the first banquet the noble men feed on his meat, all he can now provide is lukewarm water. Previously welcoming and embracing him, the city now casts its feeder aside.

TIMON	The place which I have feasted, does it now, Like all mankind, show me an iron heart? (III.iv.80-81)
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Timon's Athens resembles Quomodo's London with regard to its exploitation of rural commodities. Athens sucks the green spaces dry until they no longer turn a profit. As a nurturing mother-earth figure, Timon provided the city with

¹¹⁸ Dawson/Minton, p. 84.

¹¹⁹ Michael Chorost, 'Biological finance in Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 21.3 (1991), pp. 349-370 (p. 355).

commodities – horses, meats and revenues from lands - but in its limitless appetite, Athens devours its own nurturer:

APEMANTUS O you gods, what a number of men eats Timon and he sees 'em not! It grieves me to see so many dip their meat in one man's blood, and all the madness is, he cheers them up too. (I.ii.39-42)

Athens' wealth is built on the ruthless exploitation of the countryside. In this respect, Athens stands in opposition to Coriolanus' Rome, where Menenius Agrippa compares the city to a belly, 'the store-house and the shop | Of the whole body' (I.i.132-133). But whilst Rome distributes those goods, by way of 'that natural competency' (I.i.138), back to the periphery, Timon's Athens is corrupted and consumes all the goods itself.¹²⁰ Athens, not the extramural green space, is wild and untamed. In this respect, Athens gestures towards what Quomodo's London might yet become. The city's rapacious drive, unrestrained and eventually self-destructive, is repeatedly linked to beastly behaviour and self-annihilating cannibalism. The wall divides a wild city from a tamed green space - the play inverts the idea of the Jacobean Mannerist garden.

Timon's fatal error is his belief in Athenian equality and fairness. He naïvely trusted an ordered and paralegal *quid pro quo* system; mutual support, he believes, is 'a bond in men' (I.i.148). Had he only listened to Apemantus, Timon would have learnt that Athens is a site of wilderness: 'The commonwealth of Athens is become a forest of beasts!', the servant warns him (IV.iii.346-347).¹²¹ Commercial wealth, but particularly the lack thereof, is shown to destroy civilisation and human relationships.¹²² Not only are Athenians regularly berated as dogs, but their greed repeatedly links them to what the Country Wench's Father metaphorically called a 'man-devouring city' – Timon's bounty, when exhausted, triggers cannibalism.¹²³ As Apemantus' observes, the city feeds on itself. Only after escaping the city does Timon realise how savage Athens was; he 'will to the woods, where he shall find |

¹²⁰ Miola, p. 26.

¹²¹ Dawson/Minton, p. 88.

¹²² Chorost, p. 349.

¹²³ Kahn, p. 40.

Th'unkindest beast more kinder than mankind.' (IV.i.35-36).¹²⁴ Timon's Athens, I argue, is less tamed and more savage than its extramural agricultural green spaces.

Having lost his faith in humankind, Timon is ostracised from both Athens and human company. Before he departs into the countryside forever, he looks back one last time:

TIMON Let me look back upon thee. O thou wall
 That girdles in those wolves, dive in the earth
 And fence not Athens! (IV.i.1-3)

The wall, according to Timon, protects the countryside from urban wilderness and cannibalism. Timon's speech echoes John Stow's concern that the city was destroying 'the common field' by expanding into the fields beyond Aldgate.¹²⁵ However, in his endless disappointment and misanthropy, he welcomes that destruction. He wants the inverted Mannerist garden to dissolve its wall so that chaos and barrenness will spread. Furthermore, Timon evokes mother-earth, begging her to stop providing the city with subsistence.

TIMON Common mother – thou
 Whose womb unmeasurable and infinite breast
 Teems and feeds all[.]
 [...]
 Ensneer thy fertile and conception womb,
 Let it no more bring out ingrateful man.
 (IV.iii.176-178, 186-187)

Ironically, despite having lost his lands and rent, mother-earth soon supplies Timon with a new commodity. Green spaces are again produced as inherently feminine. Evoking the imagery of the womb, the earth gives birth to gold. Frederick Waage argues that the soil in Shakespeare manifests its power over humans in times of distress, often when it is modified.¹²⁶ I have argued that nascent agricultural capitalism, the understanding that individual wealth can double or triple by way of capital investment, modified the cultural perception of the countryside. Early modern drama negotiated this contested relationship

¹²⁴ For a discussion on how *Coriolanus* similarly links the city to images of animals and cannibalism, see Gail Kern Paster, "'To starve with feeding': the city in *Coriolanus*", *Shakespeare Studies*, 11 (1978), pp. 123-144 (p. 134).

¹²⁵ Stow, II., p. 72.

¹²⁶ Frederick O. Waage, 'Shakespeare unearth'd', *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 12.2 (2005), pp. 139-164 (p. 148).

through a gendered imagery reflective of the eroticised desires which society projected onto green space. If gold is indeed a sign of mother-earth's distress, Timon no longer uses the countryside's inherent wealth for profit, but for revenge and the destruction of Athens.¹²⁷ He hands gold over to Phrynia and Timandra, two whores in Alcibiades' retinue. 'Be a whore still', he orders, '[g]ive them diseases' (IV.iii.83-85). Moreover, he subsidises Alcibiades' armed revolt, paying him to invade the city and lay 'proud Athens on a heap' (IV.iii.101). By revealing its treasures to Timon, the countryside itself is metaphorically linked to gold, it is the 'common whore of mankind that puts odds | Among the rout of nations' (IV.iii.43-44). The mother-earth image of the first acts is inverted and turned into a dark version of not nourishment but sexual destruction – the country is now the 'common whore of mankind.' The country's wealth and the subsequent scramble for it are responsible for war and pestilence. In *Timon of Athens*, rural products prove to be destructive once they enter the economic system.¹²⁸

If extramural wealth represented a gendered commodity in *Michaelmas Term*, in *Timon of Athens* it marks an imminent threat to the existence of both city and wall. In this instance, the wall Timon cursed earlier would be needed to defend the city from the danger coming from Athens' surrounding landscape. And, for a moment, it seems as if the wall can indeed protect Athens from complete destruction. Alcibiades' revolt stops just outside Athens' wall. The senators persuade the rebels to join their corrupt and consuming regime. Alcibiades brings in his ranks and leaves his rage outside (V.v.39). Yet Phrynia and Timandra, who have received Timon's gold to spread their sexual diseases, enter with him.¹²⁹ If Middleton's Country Wench represents a tradable commodity in a greedy marketplace, the prostitutes in *Timon* embody a rural commodity which in the long run will make the city barren – the degenerate 'man-devouring city' will be sterilised, made infertile and will eventually cease to exist by way of this dark variant of mother-earth. The urban appetite for imported sexualised rural goods turns on itself and consumes the marketplace.

¹²⁷ Chorost, p. 366.

¹²⁸ Waage, p. 153.

¹²⁹ Leggatt, p. 202.

Paster argues that Timon seeks to unbuild the city in a 'rhetoric of destruction.'¹³⁰ However, I would point out, that Timon is in the position to do so only after the renewed acquisition of rural wealth. Rather than being the object of the city's appetite, Timon's new wealth becomes the subject of its destruction. Mother-earth's rural gold becomes the ultimate commodity with which to pull down the walls and so level the city and reintegrate it with its surrounding green space. Timon, I suggest, succeeds in unbuilding the city by way of the rural commodities which green space has given birth to. Athens' city wall is dissolved by the very items the city craves – gold ploughs and refashions Athens into an unenclosed agricultural space. The city of corruption, greed, and beastly wilderness is levelled and the comparatively ordered extramural green space replaces its corruption and the agricultural capitalist culture which, when unfulfilled, had led to cannibalism. In *Timon of Athens*, I have argued, it is not the country which is dangerous and wild – but rather the commercial culture of accelerated capitalism which represents the untamed and destructive force. The play offers a dark perspective on the quickening commercial culture of its time. The walls are able to protect the city from an exterior rebellion: Alcibiades and his troops do not enter the city until they agree to the senators' demands. However, the capitalist and self-annihilating cannibalistic appetite for rural commodities – the appetite for the exotic rural female body which we have already encountered in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term* – penetrates the city and eventually destroys it. *Timon of Athens* is in many ways the dark and tragic sequel to *Michaelmas Term*, and adds a new layer to the production of agricultural green space on the early modern stage.

I have argued that Middleton and Shakespeare negotiate a bleak perspective on the newly emerging commercial culture. They link the society which emerges from agricultural capitalism to the animal and uncivilised world – the city is characterised by 'beastly ambition' and is repeatedly linked to cannibalism when its insatiable appetite for rural commodities cannot be satisfied. In *Timon of Athens*, mother-earth responds to the city's predatory drive and provides Timon with gold to reverse the manner of consumption. In collaboration with Shakespeare, Middleton developed the notion of projecting eroticised desire onto agricultural green space. In the process of their

¹³⁰ Kern Paster, *The idea of the city*, pp. 102-105.

collaboration, however, this eroticised desire becomes the source of the city's annihilation. Athens' walls cannot protect the city from itself. As in Thomas Dekker's *The Seuen deadly Sinnes*, corruption and vice enter and Athens will suffer the same fate as Dekker's London: 'Desolation [...] will at last enter, and turn thy Garden of pleasure, into Church-yards; thy fields that seru'd thee for walk, into Golgotha' (A3v-A4r). Indeed, Timon's Athens and its environment is an inverted Mannerist garden. Ultimately, the cause for the urban marketplaces' desolation and infertility is an overwhelming commercial greed for rural produce.

I have argued that in *Timon of Athens* the gendered imagination of agricultural green space results in a dramatic inversion of agricultural innovation. I will now turn my attention to Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize* which was written as a response to the Midlands' Revolt – an insurgence which resisted the advance of agricultural capitalism. If *Timon* stages the destruction of the city and its walls in the wake of agricultural greed, Fletcher's comedy lets its rural inhabitants reclaim the territory they have lost to enclosure within the city. *The Woman's Prize* offers an alternative way to re-imagine and invert Middleton's and Shakespeare's gendered topology in the light of accelerated agricultural capitalism.

V. 'THE COUNTRY FORCES ARE ARRIVED. BEGONE!' ***THE WOMAN'S PRIZE AND THE PASTORALISATION OF THE MARKETPLACE***

John Fletcher negotiated non-urban spaces with noticeably more unease than Jonson or Middleton. McMullan has illustrated how Fletcher's dramatic work was influenced by the context of his patronage with the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon. As a result of Fletcher's personal and political proximity to the family's milieu, his work captures 'the country-based, feminocentric, uncourtly environment cultivated by the Huntingdon's at Ashby.' The politics of his plays 'are cynical of court and assertions of absolutism, and are fascinated both with negotiations of city and country and with issues of gender, in particular with female dominance and agency.'¹³¹ I will now demonstrate that *The Woman's*

¹³¹ McMullan, p. 35; see also Philip J. Finkelpearl, *Court and country politics in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 39.

Prize is concerned not just with the obvious gender concerns, but also with the impact the 1607 insurrection had on parochial politics and economics.

On 3 June 1607, at the height of the Midlands Revolt, James I made the Earl of Huntingdon Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire, commanding him to mobilise the country's forces and re-gain control over the perilous situation in the Midlands.¹³² However, Huntingdon's promotion was somewhat ironic, 'since he was, after all, no absentee landlord, and since, as his response to the events of the revolt suggests, he was not in favor of the tendency to enclose and depopulate.'¹³³ Fletcher's patron was no agricultural innovator or capitalist, but rather favoured a more parochial agricultural system. Reflecting the Huntingdon circle's politics, Fletcher's dramatic output 'explore[s] the complexities of government in the context of unease and unrest, representing the possibility that mismanagement of the ramifications of changing property relations could lead to serious destabilization in the country.'¹³⁴ Accordingly, in *The Woman's Prize* Fletcher overwrites previous theatrical representations of agricultural green space in response to the economic upheavals which changed the social fabric of the countryside and eventually triggered the Midlands Revolt.

Dating *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed* has proved inconclusive; suggested production dates range from 1609 to 1611.¹³⁵ Lucy Munro writes that '[i]t is one of a number of plays written around this time which debate the nature and status of women.'¹³⁶ I wish to suggest that as a play quintessentially about rebellion, *The Woman's Prize* is informed not only by the Jacobean *querelle des femmes* but also – and, for my purposes, most significantly – by the aftershocks of the 1607 uprising. With Fletcher's milieu relations in mind, I wish to argue that *The Woman's Prize* – invariably discussed by critics in the context of the Jacobean 'battle of the sexes' and its relationship to *The Taming of the Shrew* (c.1590-1604) – was likewise written when the Midlands Uprising

¹³² Ibid., pp. 44-45.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 71.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

¹³⁵ Lucy Munro, 'Introduction', in *The Tamer Tamed* (London: Methuen, 2010), pp. vii-xxiii (p. xv).

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. xvi.

remained discursively present in the minds of both playwright and audience.¹³⁷ The play explores the ongoing threat of a similarly inspired insurgency. Essentially, it questions and offers an alternative to the capital's implicit prerogative as 'eye o'the land'. Fletcher's country rebels reclaim the green space they lost to the quickening of agricultural innovation and investment. If, as McMullan argues, Fletcher's work discusses the effects of rural mismanagement due to changing landownership, *The Woman's Prize* stages an alternative to agricultural capitalism's destabilisation of rural politics.¹³⁸ Instead of imagining a resource-rich and utopian countryside, Fletcher inverts agricultural innovation: London is pastoralised and transformed into a festive parochial space. Fletcher's representation of agricultural green space is no erotic urban-centric cornucopia as in *Michaelmas Term* and, at least initially, *Timon of Athens*. The play's extramural space is active and rebellious, reversing the eroticised gender relations of the city comedies – in *The Woman's Prize* a group of country wenches express a commercial appetite of its own.

I situate *The Women's Prize* in the context of the city comedies and the 1607 uprising. Twenty years after Shakespeare wrote *The Taming of the Shrew*, his successor at the King's Men composed a response; *The Woman's Prize* is 'both a sequel and an imitation [...], in which the younger dramatist rewrites his predecessor's narratives and interrogates his assumptions.'¹³⁹ The play inverts social relations and stages the concomitant rebellion which dominant layers of society must face in the process of upheaval. Although its Shakespearean prequel is set in Padua, Fletcher is ambiguous about his play's setting. He draws on Italianate character names, but never mentions Padua or other Italian reference points. Instead, numerous locations in London and its vicinity, such as Kingston and London Bridge are mentioned (I.iii.19, 84).¹⁴⁰ Implicitly, then, the play is set in London; *The Woman's Prize* is about a city's relationship to the

¹³⁷ See David M. Bergeron, 'Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize*, transgression, and "querelle des femmes"', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 8 (1996), pp. 146-164; Molly Easo Smith, 'John Fletcher's response to the gender debate: *The Woman's Prize* and *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Papers on Language & Literature*, 31 (1995), pp. 38-60.

¹³⁸ McMullan, p. 55.

¹³⁹ Munro, p. ix.

¹⁴⁰ John Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed*, New Mermaids, ed. by Lucy Munro (London: Methuen, 2010). Petruchio, when reconciled to Maria, declares his transformation as completed and emphasises the play's English setting: 'Well, little England, when I see a husband | Of any other nation stern or jealous, | I'll wish him but a woman of thy breeding, | And if he have not butter to his bread | Till his teeth bleed, I'll never trust my travel' (V.iv.61-65).

country during a time of crisis, forming a dialectic relationship with the contemporaneous *Michaelmas Term*, *Epicoene* and *Timon of Athens* which explore identical themes and spaces, but came to different conclusions. Fletcher responds to, even modifies previous imaginings of agricultural green space on the early modern stage.

As in Middleton's and Shakespeare's plays, *The Woman's Prize* explores the progression and desires of agricultural economics through a gendered production of the countryside. McMullan argues that Fletcher 'rehearses the problem of culturally appointed roles of men and women throughout his plays.'¹⁴¹ Although rural concerns are expressed and represented by female insurgents, the play complicates and inverts the previously unquestioned and unproblematic projection of sexual desire onto extramural green spaces. Fletcher modifies the rapacious imagery in Middleton's and Jonson's city comedies. While these plays are suggestive of rape and violence towards mother-earth, Fletcher's countrywomen penetrate the city walls to claim urban produce – they reverse not just gender relations, but also spatial relations. I wish to argue that by way of dissolving the protective city wall, Fletcher negotiates parochial alternatives to the individual's projection of wealth onto an agricultural green space, while also satirising the city comedies' projection of sexual desires onto extramural landscapes.

Petruchio has remarried after Kate's death. However, his new wife, Maria, is even less susceptible to his patriarchal dominance than her predecessor and she professes an aspiration to conclude Kate's objective. Maria strives to tame the tamer. Assisted by her sister Livia and her cousin Bianca, Maria initiates a sex-strike, barricading herself and her followers into Petruchio's house. Meanwhile, Maria's sister, Livia, is not allowed to marry Roland. Her father, Petronius, wants her to marry Moroso, an elderly and wealthier candidate. Consequently, Livia joins the female insurgents, as well. Additionally, a group of countrywomen invade London and collaborate with Maria. Playing humiliating pranks on Petruchio, the insurgents increasingly gain the upper hand, while Livia tricks her father into consenting to her marriage plans. By the end of the play, Petruchio is a broken man. Only then does Maria show her softer side, declaring 'I have tamed ye, | And now am vowed your servant' (V.iv.45-46).

¹⁴¹ McMullan, p. 156; Finkelpearl, p. 144.

The Woman's Prize is not only concerned with 'the manipulation of patriarchal structures', but also with the politics of revolt.¹⁴² Indeed, I now demonstrate how revolt informs much of the dramatic language of the women's disobedience. The theme is established when Petruchio's deceased wife is compared to a 'rebel' and Maria vows to continue her legacy (I.i.19). Drawing on martial language, she professes to overthrow her husband.

MARIA Like Curtius, to redeem my country have I
 Leaped into this gulf of marriage;
 Farewell all poor thoughts but spite and anger,
 Till I have wrought a miracle upon him. (I.ii.66-69)

Like Martius Curtius, a Roman soldier, Maria offers herself up as a martyr; she metaphorically plunges herself into the marital battleground where she will fight for all her country, that is, for all womanhood. Secondly, Moroso compares the women to a famous Irish rebel leader:

MOROSO These are the most authentic rebels next
Tyrone I ever heard of. (I.iii.222-223)

Hugh O'Neill, the second Earl of Tyrone, resisted the Tudor conquest of Ireland in the late sixteenth century. He led the Irish resistance during the Nine Years' War (1594-1603), which sought to liberate the Irish island and overthrow the English Protestant crown. By linking Tyrone, a rebel in England's periphery, to the rebellious women, Moroso acknowledges them as a peripheral rebellious force threatening the centre. Thirdly, the women, like their revolutionary predecessors, seek fame and violent imitators.

BIANCA Thou wilt be chronicled
MARIA That's all I aim at.
[...]
LIVIA If ye work upon him
 As you have promised, ye may give example
 Which no doubt will be followed. (I.ii.176; 186-188)

I suggest that this conversation reflects the anxieties of imitators and follow-up rebellions expressed by James in the aftermath of the Midlands Revolt:

Wee do first declare and publish our Princely resolution, That if any of our Subjects shall hereafter upon pretences of the same of like

¹⁴² McMullan, p. 164.

grievances, either persist in the unlawfull and rebellious Act already begun, or renewe and breake forth into the like, in any parts of our Kingdome; We will prefer the safetie, quiet, and protection of our Subjects in generall, and the body of our State, before the compassion of any such Offenders[.]¹⁴³

In open contradiction to the monarch, who was determined to show no mercy towards any follow-up insurgents, Maria and Bianca want imitators to join their rebellion, which is exactly what happens when the country forces join them: the women will indeed 'give example' and 'be followed'. The women reject James' panoptic desire for safety and peace; they ignore the 'eye o'th' land'. The language of illegal and armed rebellion is indeed omnipresent in Fletcher's play.¹⁴⁴ Soon, Maria's rebellion is supplemented and merged with a second one, that of the 'country cavaliero' (III.ii.24). Having suggested that the women are linked to violent insurrections, I will now demonstrate that their call to arms is not necessarily just confined to the domestic arena, as Holly Crocker suggests, but that the fame and imitation they seek reaches beyond the wall of Petruchio's house, and even moves beyond the city's circumference. Fame, martyrdom and an armed and rebellious periphery were prominent themes of the Midlands Revolt and were expanded in Fletcher's city comedy to evaluate a homeomorphic alternative to agricultural green space.

The Woman's Prize, I argue, explores two fears of the period directly traceable to the Midlands Revolt: that of rebellion and of a rural revolt entering London. The play equates Maria and her followers to the natural world. The women 'appear like her that sent us hither, | That only excellent and beauteous Nature, | Truly ourselves, for men to wonder at, | But too divine to handle' (I.iii.251-254). But as theatrical representatives of mother-earth, the women are equally metaphorically juxtaposed to natural phenomena which could easily annihilate urban space. Maria professes to be as rough as nature at its worst; she will be 'made of the north wind, nothing but tempest, | And like a tempest shall it make all ruins' (I.ii.77-78). In the light of such destructive forces of nature, Petruchio's servant is only left to remark that 'we shall have foul weather then!' (I.iii.211). The women opposing Petruchio are described in

¹⁴³ *Stuart royal proclamations*, p. 156.

¹⁴⁴ Holly A. Crocker, 'The tamer as shrewd in John Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize: or, The Tamer Tam'd*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 51.2 (2011), pp. 409-426 (pp. 409-410).

relation to a rural rebellion and compared to a capricious mother-earth. The country forces invading the city, however, are strongly resonant of the recent rural unrest. Petruchio and his servants reflect the fear of an invasion, the lack of order in the countryside and the city's dependence on porous walls. Contrary to the events of 1607, or even in Oxfordshire in 1596, Fletcher's staged rebellion is not averted in time; Petruchio begs the women to stop their advancements, but Bianca knows that the rural forces have gained momentum beyond anybody's control:

BIANCA	The power of the whole country cannot, sir, Unless we please to yield, which yet I think We shall not. Charge when you please, you shall Hear quickly from us. (I.iii.137-140)
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Indeed, Bianca, Maria and '[t]he power of the whole country' prove too strong for London's defensive city wall. The rural rebels enter the city and Fletcher grants them a forceful arrival within the walls.

FIRST WENCH	The country forces are arrived. Begone!
SECOND WENCH	Arm and be valiant. Think of our cause.
THIRD WENCH	Our justice! Aye, aye, aye, 'tis sufficient. (II.iv.4-6)

Central to this war cry is the rebels' emphatic equation with the country and the justness of their cause. Without the ironic context provided by the script, the country forces' demands for armed justice might as well be taken from the manifesto the rebels issued in 1607, specifically when the insurgents express their determination to use violence in their pursuit of justice: 'But if you happen to show your face and might against us, we for our parts neither respect life nor living.'¹⁴⁵ Both the fictional and real postulations are equally chilling, determined, and violent if rejected. Fletcher's hypothesis of London's invasion by rural rebels who seek to amend their plight and re-establish 'justice' must have sent shivers down the spines of any Londoners in the audience.

I have mentioned earlier that the 1607 revolt was triggered during May Game celebrations. Petruchio alludes to this notion of rebellion growing out of rural festivity when, already increasingly distraught, he asks Maria if her rebellion is part of May Day entertainments: 'do you make a May-game on me?', he asks his wife (III.iv.55). I believe that *The Woman's Prize* rehearses, albeit on

¹⁴⁵ *The writing of rural England, 1500-1800*, p. 146.

a far smaller scale, a rural rebellion. However, with one essential difference: this time, the rural rebels make it to London. Within the city, as we will now see, the country forces reclaim the space they have lost to enclosure and capitalist agriculture. The presence of the country forces not only reverses and challenges patriarchal structures, but re-writes the city comedies' eroticisation of agricultural green space. The play produces a festive rural space in the middle of the city which 'denies phallogentric expectations.'¹⁴⁶ The women's alternative commonwealth offers its audience an alternative version of the countryside which interrogates both patriarchal structures and agricultural capitalism. The women's green space reclaims its share of urban produce.

Settling down in the city, the women carve out their own space. Petruccio exclaims that the women have occupied his 'freeholds' (I.iii.291). Freeholds, lands or estates held permanently, were part of the contestation in 1607. Freeholders more readily embraced the new world of commerce and enclosed stretches of the countryside for personal financial gain. Given their permanent tenure, freeholders were entitled to dispose of their land at will. They constituted a main component behind the quickening of the enclosure movement and promoted the emergence of an agrarian capitalist system which replaced rural customs and subjected the land to market competition.¹⁴⁷ Freeholders like La Foole exploited their lands' commodities without regard for the needs of the tenants. Re-enacting an alternative version of rural revolt, the rebels repossess the land, or freeholds, they lost to a growing capitalist culture.

Rural uprisings provided the themes for the women's rebellion in *The Woman's Prize*. Furthermore, rebellious women invade the city from the countryside and carve out their own space in the urban area. I will now examine the women's space-within-an-urban-space in order to demonstrate that the rebels create a green space which contests the space of the urban marketplace. The women's rural space spreads out and eventually encompasses the entire city. By the end of the play, the previously rapacious urban marketplace is entirely pastoralised. The women re-model the city into a festive rural environment and rekindle long forgotten traditions. When Pedro and Jaques report on the women's activities, they claim that the rebels have organised a

¹⁴⁶ McMullan, p. 163.

¹⁴⁷ Kennedy, pp. 68-72.

range of rural festive games, such as ales, and bonfires and that they even plan to set up a maypole and to dance a morris (II.iii.64). The women's festive atmosphere resonates with the behaviour of the Midlands' rebels:

Each riot itself seems to have been something of a ritual, as rioters processed through villages, with a popular leader on horseback at their head, to the tune of pipe and tabor and often the clamour of church bells. The marches were accompanied in the general air of festivity by representatives of the whole peasant community – women, children, old people – and they carried spades and mattocks as well as more overt weaponry.¹⁴⁸

In the end, Fletcher's women triumph over the men who cannot remove their festive green space. Petruchio must eventually give in to the rebels' demands. Maria and the country wenches have inverted the marketplace into their own parochial counter-space - the play, I argue, pastoralises the rapacious 'eye o'th' land'. The insurgents' festive space spreads beyond Petruchio's house and eventually everybody participates in rural celebrations. Roland announces to his new father-in-law:

ROLAND Another morris, sir,
That you must pipe too. (V.iv.66-67)

And Moroso, accepting Livia's decision to marry Roland, looks forward to joining an ale, a form of rural and parochial fund-raising.

MOROSO Since I am overreached, let's in to dinner,
And if I can, I'll drink it away. (V.iv.78-79)

The play ends with widespread May Day festivities. As my previous chapter demonstrates, May Day celebrations, but also ales were a widely spread rural tradition – Robin Hood, as a symbol of renewal and fertility, played a central role in the yearly celebrations. Stow regrets that May Days have become rare in London since the festivities invariably erupted into riots.

I find also, that in the moneth of May, the Citizens of London of all estates, lightly in euery Parish, or sometimes two or three parishes ioning together, had their seuerall mayings, and did fetch in Maypoles, with diuers warlike shewes, with good Archers, Morice dauncers, and other deuices for pastime all the day long, and toward the Euening they had stage plays, and Bonefires in the streetes: [...]

¹⁴⁸ McMullan, pp. 41-42.

These great Mayings, and Maygames [...] by meane of an insurrection of youthes against Aliens on may day, 1517, the ninth of *Henry* the 8. haue not beene so freely vsed as afore[.]¹⁴⁹

In his explanatory epistle to *The Faithful Shepherdess*, written around the same time as *The Woman's Prize* and discussed in detail in the next chapter, Fletcher listed 'Whitsun ales, cream, wassail, and morris-dances', as 'former fictions and vulgar traditions' of the pastoral genre.¹⁵⁰ Fletcher's country wenches, however, import ales, morris dances and may-poles into the city. The playwright, it seems, draws on these traditions, however vulgar and archaic he considers them to be, as indicators that the country forces have manipulated the spatial topology of the city.¹⁵¹ Fletcher imagines a customary archaic pastoral space within the city, a space which has not been seen in London for an entire generation. The country forces' green space is parochial and vulgar, that is, old-fashioned in the manner it resists agrarian capitalism and questions the freeholder's capitalist prerogative over the periphery's services and commodities. Susan Wells has observed that emerging capitalist culture had turned the urban marketplace into a place devoted to profit and exchange; Fletcher however, inverts it back into its original, pre-capitalist shape.¹⁵² Fletcher re-imagines London as a site of communal gathering, a common festive and parochial space reflecting his patron's politics of parochial land utilisation.

I have argued that recent rural insurrections informed *The Woman's Prize* and that the play inverts the contested gendered topology of agricultural green space. Fletcher stages an alternative outcome to the recent uprising, returning spatial agency back to the countryside. The country forces enter the city and overturn symbolic hierarchies, replacing the predatory marketplace with a communally festive and pastoral space. As an alternative to capitalist agriculture, the play addresses a return to a more parochial and customary mode of harvesting nature – the play negotiates country politics which the rioters in the Midlands would have hardly disagreed with. As Lefebvre argued,

¹⁴⁹ Stow, I., p. 98.

¹⁵⁰ *The Faithful Shepherdess*, ed. by Cyrus Hoy, in *The dramatic works in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon*, ed. by Fredson Bowers, 10 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), III., pp. 483-612 (p. 497).

¹⁵¹ *OED Online*, vulgar, *adj.* I.1.a

¹⁵² Wells, p. 38.

peripheries revolt to overturn spatial hierarchies.¹⁵³ If in 1607 Wilkinson claimed that the rural insurgents strove to 'levell all' hierarchies, the fictional rebels in *The Women's Prize* level the hierarchies between men and women: 'We'll root ourselves and to our endless glory | Live and despise men' (II.i.38-39). If the Midlands insurgents sought to create a utopia without labour and laws, Fletcher's green space represents an equivalent utopia in which country-dwellers idly indulge in urban material fantasies. Fletcher reverses the country women's portrayal as passive objects for the erotic needs of the city. In return for their cooperation, the country forces demand 'liberty and clothes' (II.v.137). The women invert the rapacious quality of the city; in *The Woman's Prize*, the women's green space demands not only the obedience of men but also, tongue-in-cheek, a supply of luxury goods manufactured in the urban marketplace. Occupying Petruchio's 'freeholds' the women demand:

PETRUCHIO New coaches and some buildings she appoints here,
 Hangings, and hunting horses, and for plate
 And jewels for her private use, I take it,
 Two thousand pounds in present. Then, for music,
 And women to read French[.] (II.v.141-145)

Commodities move from London into the parochial green space and not vice versa. Fletcher's Country Forces are no exotic and exploitable rural commodity as in *Michaelmas Term* or *Timon of Athens*; Fletcher lets the country women invade and exploit the city, remodelling the capitalist marketplace into a customary and parochial green space.

The Woman's Prize, I argue, reverses the profit-driven cycle of earlier city comedies. Fletcher's representation of the countryside reclaims commodities and investments, transforming the city into its homeomorphic festive opposite; the protective wall is pulled down and in the end the city is turned into an alternative parochial economy. On the Jacobean stage, the gradual emergence of an agricultural capitalist system is reflected in the changing relationship between city, country and the separating wall. Indeed, if agricultural capitalism, as Appleby suggest, was an extraordinary deviation from previous norms, Fletcher is reluctant to embrace its exploitative approach. Instead, he offers his audience an alternative, parochial and feudal template for the imaging of rural

¹⁵³ Lefebvre, p. 88.

agricultural England, a template which just happened to coincide with the country politics of his patron.

VI. CONCLUSION

Between 1605 and 1609, a number of plays addressed the increasingly capitalist culture which altered the city's engagement with its extramural green spaces. The role of the city wall is central to understanding the unstable homeomorphic imagination of rural space through which playwrights responded to the advance of agricultural capitalism. Green spaces represented a site onto which city-dwellers such as Quomodo projected their fantasies of immeasurable wealth and sexual desire. As 'eye o'th' land', theatrical London was imagined to have a natural prerogative to exploit that inherent wealth. The city wall guaranteed safety whilst allowing the importation of approved resources and capital. However, other playwrights were concerned about the wall's weakness and the destructive effects of increased consumption. *Timon of Athens* turns the wall inside out. In Shakespeare's and Middleton's tragedy, the wall protects the countryside from its endless self-destructive urban appetite, but cannot safeguard the city from its own consumptive greed. In *The Woman's Prize*, the female inhabitants of supposedly empty green spaces revolt, penetrate the wall and reclaim the commodities of the city. The play inverts the agricultural capitalist space into a parochial festive environment.

The rural female body, variations of the nourishing mother-earth imagery, was the strategy with which the stage explored, but also challenged the advance of farming innovation and the concomitant desire to exploit the countryside. The Country Wench in *Michaelmas Term* is an exotic imported commodity whose price rises or falls depending on the whims of the urban market. Agricultural space reflects an eroticised commercial fantasy which the masculine city can ruthlessly take advantage of and exploit. Phrynia and Timandra gesture towards urban corruption and greed and are integral to the city's cannibalistic self-destruction. Fletcher's Country Forces invade the city and reclaim the freeholds they lost in order to create an alternative feminocentric and parochial ideal. Overall, economic change in rural England triggered a range of irreconcilable responses. Collectively, early modern drama produced a layered understanding of agricultural green space with multivocal

and contradictory topological variants. Economic change offered an opportunity for social advance, but also led to the decline of many parochial communities; the theatrical production of the agricultural countryside negotiated both the benefits and dangers of contemporary rural politics in contested green space.

I have mentioned in my discussion of *The Woman's Prize* how Fletcher draws on traditional pastoral themes he rejects in *The Faithful Shepherdess*. The preface, written to defend his unfavourably received pastoral play, distinguishes between the fictional imaginations, the 'former fictions' of pastoral green space his disappointed audience expected, and his realistic representation of the politics of enclosure.¹⁵⁴ At first glance, both *The Woman's Prize* and *The Faithful Shepherdess* negotiate the decline of customary and parochial agricultural green space. Both plays engage with elements of Jacobean discourse which problematised the effects of enclosure on parochial and urban communities, respectively. On closer inspection, however, the similarities between the two plays dissolve. If *The Woman's Prize* negotiates political unease in relation to rural, urban and economic tensions, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, also explores cynicism towards court politics and the countryside's loyalty to the Stuart dynasty. Indeed, in addition to the influence of Huntingdon's country policies, Fletcher's early dramatic work must be situated equally within the milieu of a disparate literary and dramatic group commonly referred to as the Spenserians.¹⁵⁵ In what follows, I discuss how *The Faithful Shepherdess*, the Spenserians and Ben Jonson staged Arcadian green spaces - idealised rural topologies – simultaneously as conflated with the court, or in the geographical margins from where they confirmed, opposed and offered alternatives to the Jacobean court.

¹⁵⁴ McMullan, pp. 62-70.

¹⁵⁵ Philip Finkelpearl, 'John Fletcher as Spenserian playwright: *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *The Island Princess*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 27.2 (1987), pp. 285-302 (p. 285). John was first cousin to Giles Jr. and Phineas Fletcher, two prominent Spenserian poets and Jacobean diplomats.

CHAPTER THREE

WRITING FROM THE MARGINS: THE SATYR AND THE PLACE OF ARCADIA, 1609 - 1611

In Book I of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590), Duessa tricks Redcrosse Knight into believing that Una, his future wife, lacks chastity and modesty. In his disappointment, he abandons Una, leaving her to roam the country alone. Una's solitude, however, does not last for long; Sansloy abducts her, drags her into a 'forrest wilde, | And turning wrathfull fire to lustfull heat, | With beastly sin thought her to haue defilede, | And made the vassall of his pleasures vilde' (I.vi.3). Just when all seems beyond hope, the residents of the 'forrest wilde' respond to Una's cries for help:

Her shrill outcryes and shriekes so loud did bray,
That all the woodes and forrestes did resownd;
A troupe of *Faunes* and *Satyres* far away
Within the woods were dancing in a rownd,
Whiles old *Sylvanus* slept in shady arber sownd.

8
Who when they heard that piteous strained voice,
In hast forsooke their rurall meriment,
And ran towards the far rebownded noyce,
To weet, what wight so loudly lament.
Vnto the place they come incontinent:
Whom when the raging Sarazin espide,
A rude, misshapen, monstrous rablement,
Whose like he never saw, he durst not bide,
But got his ready steed, and fast away gan ride.

9
The wyld woodgods arriued in the place,
There find the virgin doleful desolate,
With ruffled rayments, and faire blubbred face,
As her outrageous foe had left her late;
And trembling yet through feare of former hate;
All stand amazed at so vncouth sight,
And gin to pittie her unhappie state;
All stand astonied at her beautie bright,
In their rude eyes vnworthy of so wofull plight. (I.vi.7-9)¹

¹ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by Thomas P. Roche (London: Penguin, 1978; repr. 1987).

Spenser connects this scene to traditional pastoral themes; he compares the satyrs to shepherds who are 'shouting, and singing all a shepherds ryme, | And with greene braunches strowing all the ground, | Do worship her, as Queene, with olive girlone cround' (I.iv.xiii). Spenser establishes a visual and ontological contrast between the beautiful Christian Una and the wild and misshapen forest rabble, who shepherd-like inhabit pastoral green space. In the broader argument of the allegory, the satyrs and fauns who rescue Una represent ancient Roman and Greek religions. Ignorant of true Christian virtue, the satyrs and fauns make Una their idol; they 'prostrate upon the lowly plaine, | Do kisse her feete, and fawne on her with count'nace faire' (I.vi.xii). In addition to their paganism, the manner with which the satyrs worship Una gestures towards Catholic practices of amassing relics and the central position of the Virgin Mary in Catholic faith. In other words, the 'forrest wilde' represents a site which opposes the Protestant ideology Spenser defends throughout *The Faerie Queene*.

This episode demonstrates two things. On the one hand, in early modern England satyrs were thought to inhabit wild, untameable green spaces. They highlight the uncontrollable, ugly and subversive elements hidden in the empty spaces of rural England. On the other hand, satyrs were a foil for ideological concepts which oppose orthodox hegemony – in Spenser's case, this means a false pagan belief that, for him, was akin to, or contiguous with, Catholicism. Una's precarious situation amidst the pagan satyrs is resolved when she 'teach[es] [the satyrs] truth' (I.vi.19). Not only does she enlighten them with Protestant doctrine, Una also remodels the previously unmappable space as Protestant and, thereby, brings it into accord with the poem's religious allegory. By the time Una leaves the satyrs, the forest is no longer wild, but incorporated into the realm of Gloriana, Queene of Faerie Land. The unease posed by the religious and moral wilderness of the natural environment is harnessed and re-imagined; the topology of the 'wilde forrest' is inverted into a Protestant space. The satyrs' role in Spenser's imagining of the green space is not dissimilar to that of Robin Hood. I argued in Chapter One that, prior to the 1590s, Robin Hood was quintessentially a Catholic hero. However, his devotion to the Virgin Mary as well as his propensity towards revolt ran counter to the court's vision of the northern countryside. London's theatres gentrified and re-wrote the tradition, transforming the pastoral hero and his greenwood to conform to Protestant politics. Spenser pursues a similar literary

strategy in *The Faerie Queene*; he converts both the satyrs and their wild habitat from Catholic 'paganism' to truthful Protestantism.

During the early Stuart period the popularity of shepherd-centred pastoral drama increased; Italianate pastoral was modified and took on distinctly English characteristics.² Helen Cooper argues that Jacobean pastoral is disillusioned in its nostalgic yearning for the past golden age.³ Annabel Patterson has demonstrated how Jacobean pastoral became a means with which 'the Virgilian code and the ideological possibilities it represented passed out of the cabinet of the lone intellectual, isolated and besieged, into the terrain of politics proper and became widely disseminated as a public language.'⁴ Both critics treat the green spaces represented in pastoral literature and drama as intrinsically political in their representation of courtly and rural ideologies. Louis Montrose wrote that Jacobean pastoral entertainments' renewed popularity coincided with a change 'from the agrarian relationship between lords and laborers [in Elizabethan pastoral] to the courtly relationship between the king and the privileged society of royal dependents who serve him.'⁵ This chapter focuses on the theatrical representation of green space in pastoral drama. I discuss the dramatic pastoral countryside as a negotiation of a particular ideological ideal or a specific representation of rural perfection. However, whereas Cooper, Marcus, Patterson and Montrose suggest that pastoral drama staged a specifically courtly version of the English countryside, I wish to expand their readings by analysing how dramatic pastoral green space equally expressed the ideals and politics of a group which was critical of the court's pastoral vision of the countryside. In this chapter, I demonstrate that Jacobean pastoral green space not only negotiated specifically courtly perfection but also the problematic relationship between the monarch and the geography of rural England. In doing so, early modern dramatists staged a distinctly oppositional version of politicised pastoral green space.

² Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance pastoral and its English developments* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 368.

³ Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: medieval into Renaissance* (Ipswich: Brewer, 1977), p. 192; see also Peter Lindenbaum, *Changing landscapes: anti-pastoral sentiment in the English Renaissance* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), pp. 12-16.

⁴ Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), p. 134.

⁵ Louis Adrian Montrose, 'Of gentlemen and shepherds: the politics of Elizabethan pastoral form', *English Literary History*, 50.3 (1983), pp. 415-459 (p. 431).

Jacobean pastorals mostly took place in Arcadia, or a distinct variant thereof. Arcadia is a land of leisure and song; nature is at its loveliest and of the most excellent refinement. As an idealisation of country life, Arcadia is often a reflection of an English ideal. Samuel Daniel, a pastoral playwright of the Stuart period, describes Arcadia in *The Qveenes Arcadia* (1606) as 'The gentle region of plaine honestie, | The modest seat, of vndisguised trueth, | Inhabited with simple innocence' (B1r).⁶ Originally situated in the heartland of the Greek Peloponnese peninsula, English Arcadian variants reflected James' politics of peacekeeping and the fantasy of a tamed national garden-like *locus amoenus*. Arcadia represented the landscape James desired for all of rural England. However, due to its secluded and walled geography – Arcadia was hidden away in the Peloponnesian highlands – it also represented spatial autonomy, offering playwrights a dramatic mode of resistance towards the Jacobean court. In this chapter, I argue that competing versions and, even more importantly, locations of Arcadian green space came into conflict with each other in the first decades of the seventeenth century, creating an incompatibly layered theatrical production of that ideal green space. These contested Arcadian green spaces were not only imagined as an inherent part of the court, but also decentralised space in the potentially subversive peripheries. Representations of Arcadian green space reflected the authors' own *loci amoeni* and did not automatically adhere to a homogeneous Jacobean version of rural perfection.

The satyr was a prominent inhabitant of literary Arcadias ever since Virgil 'invented' the pastoral space in *The Eclogues*.⁷ I will illustrate how the satyr's presence on the early modern stage gestures towards an idealised rural environment. However, defining which elements characterised an ideal space was dependent on the playwrights' subjective representation of Arcadian space and on the type of satyr who populated their theatrical Arcadias. The cultural development of the figure of the satyr culminated in a homeomorphic re-imagining of his Arcadian green space and the production of incompatible variants on the Jacobean stage. The satyr represented the lavish and untamed qualities of green spaces – the seemingly empty space untouched by any road or river networks – and the threat of subversion imagined therein. I will demonstrate the extent to which

⁶ Samuel Daniel, *The Qveenes Arcadia* (London: 1606).

⁷ Bruno Snell, *The discovery of the mind in early Greek philosophy and literature* (New York: Dover, 1953; repr. 1982), p. 281.

the satyr was a means to explore, but also to contain, that unease. As their confrontation with Una demonstrates, satyrs reigned over an alternative world which was characterised by a potential for lawlessness, savagery and wilfulness. Nevertheless, the representational qualities of the satyr were not limited to their classical interpretation as explored in *The Faerie Queene*. In the seventeenth century, certain playwrights also imagined the countryside under the stewardship of a different, more responsible satyr.

New artistic influences imported from the European continent led to novel understandings of the satyr and the space he inhabited. The satyr offered access to a widely varied synchronic range of signification which dramatists explored on the early modern stage. In the course of this chapter, I will demonstrate that playwrights displayed an acute awareness of the multiple and irreconcilable connotations the satyr consolidated as a pastoral motif. Although seemingly innocent in their signification on the Jacobean stage, satyrs were in fact what Mikhail Bakhtin called polyphonic.⁸ The satyr's signification, I argue, cannot be reduced to a single holistic socio-political interpretation. Instead, satyrs produced meanings which were not univocal; they represent an ever-growing and concurrent multiplicity of connotations. As a result, the space they inhabit is layered with irreconcilable meanings. The symbolic value of satyrs as a pastoral literary trope is constantly in flux and subject to continuous reproductions. If the meaning of the satyr is not stable, then neither is that of Arcadia in the theatrical imagination of early modern England.

The representational function of the satyr in relation to the English countryside began to change markedly in the first decades of the seventeenth century. I argue that Arcadian satyrs were a symbolic means to discuss rural England's topological connections and relations to the place and position of the urban court. Like Robin Hood, and the mother-earth vocabulary used to discuss the advance of agricultural capitalism, satyrs offered a readymade vehicle for expressing political discontent or minority opposition. Playwrights critical of Jacobean politics explored the polyphonic qualities of the satyr to imagine landscapes reflective of rural tensions and individual disagreements with the

⁸ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*, ed. and trans. by Caryl Emerson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984; repr. 1999), pp. 5-6; Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. by Richard Miller (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 4-11, 18-22.

urban court. Such Arcadias are administered locally and are emphatically remote and independent from James' court and politics. At the same time, I demonstrate that in the seventeenth century, satyrs came to carry significances which went beyond their untamed and wild classical reception. This ontological shift to which the creature was subject occurred in the middle of the sixteenth century allowed James and the playwrights who supported his reign to draw on the figure of the satyr in order to stage an Arcadian variant which negotiated a particular fantasy of an ordered, courtly and unanimously loyal English countryside.

I. 'SOME HORRID SATYR, | BRED IN THESE WOODS, AND FURIOUS IN HIS LUSTS':⁹ THE ARCADIAN SATYR AND ITS CULTURAL MODIFICATIONS

It is unclear whether or not early modern society thought that satyrs actually existed; however, critics highlight that a magical and supernatural component does certainly seem to have been present, if not ingrained, in the contemporary perception of the natural environment.¹⁰ In 1607, Edward Topsell, a clergyman from Kent, published *The Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes* which was re-published alongside with a second volume, *The Historie of Serpents* (1608), in 1658. Tucked away in the 'ape' section of this manifesto for intelligent design, the satyr is listed as being 'a most rare and seldome seen beast,' preferring 'their abode in solitary places, their rough-hayre, and lust to women, wherewithal other Apes are naturall infected: but especially Satyres' (B4r).¹¹ Most importantly, satyrs are 'monsters of the Desart' (C1v). They inhabit the space between the road network, sharing the same theatrical green space with Robin Hood. As allegorical reminders of humanity's potential depravity, satyrs are perceived as 'other' and dangerous.¹² Whilst such 'dangerous others' served to reaffirm orthodox identities, as in Spenser's deployment of the satyr, critically opposed dramatists would stage the same character to explore alternatives to the Jacobean court.

⁹ Joseph Rutter, *The Shepheards' Holiday*, in *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. by W. Carew Hazlitt (London: Reeves and Turner, 1875), p. 367.

¹⁰ See Linda Woodbridge, *The scythe of Saturn: Shakespeare and magical thinking* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Jeanne Addison Roberts, *The Shakespearean wild: geography, genus, and gender* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

¹¹ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes* (London: 1607).

¹² Mark Griffith, 'Satyrs, citizens, and self-presentation', in *Satyr drama: tragedy at play*, ed. by George W.M. Harrison (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2005), pp. 161-201 (p. 184).



Figure 1: Edward Topsell, *Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes* (London: 1607), C1r.

I suggest that early modern satyrs signified more than just negligible superstition, but offered a literary strategy for projecting meaning into the perceived emptiness of the English countryside. Stephen Greenblatt argues that the re-discovery of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (*On the Nature of Things*), composed around 50 B.C.E., pushed European civilisation away from the superstitious and religious dominance of the Middle Ages towards a more secular worldview.¹³ The poem confronts the false superstitious beliefs of its time; for example, it rejects the idea that '[n]ymphs and goat-footed satyrs haunt' the 'lonely spots' of the countryside, which are 'so far out in the sticks | That even gods don't visit' (IV.574, 580, 590-591).¹⁴ Popular and significant as *De Rerum Natura* was, its rationalising impact was not as comprehensive as Greenblatt suggests. Topsell's Jacobean animal encyclopaedia illustrates how the satyr and concomitant pagan and mythical beliefs retained a popular role in early modern England. The satyr, as we will see, held a central epistemological function for the theatrical imagination of green space, or, more specifically, the 'lonely spots' between the navigational grid. However, his epistemological role was not stable. I will now track his

¹³ Stephen Greenblatt, *The swerve: how the world became modern* (New York: Norton, 2011), pp. 203-219.

¹⁴ Lucretius, *The Nature of Things*, ed. by Richard Jenkyns, trans. by Alicia Stallings (London: Penguin, 2007). See also William Ellery Leonard's metrical translation: 'Lest they be thought to dwell in lonely spots | And even by gods deserted.' Lucretius, *Of The Nature of Things: a metrical translation*, trans. by William Ellery Leonard (London: Dent, 1916), p. 157.

depiction throughout the centuries in order to demonstrate that the satyr was anything but a stable literary motif. Indeed, by the time James I ascended the throne, satyrs had acquired a plurality of contradictory meanings.

Prior to Epicurean attempts to push satyrs into the realm of fantasy and superstition, they dominated an entire dramatic genre in the fifth century B.C.E. Of the hundreds of documented satyr plays performed in the Athenian Theatre of Dionysus, only Euripides' *Kyklōps* survived entirely. This lack of evidence makes it difficult to generalise about this nearly lost genre. However, Dana Sutton concludes that satyr plays usually followed a tragic form of entertainment, presenting comical or burlesque-like grotesque travesties of traditional myths.¹⁵ The satyr play was probably not that dissimilar from an Elizabethan jig, which similarly concluded public performances of both comic and tragic nature. In the case of *Kyklōps*, the Homerean episode of Odysseus' encounter with the Cyclops Polyphemus is retold in a farcical manner.

Kyklōps tells the story of how Silenus and his group of fellow satyrs are held as shepherd-slaves against their will by Polyphemus. Upon Odysseus' arrival on the island, Polyphemus takes him and his men captive as well. The farcical nature of the genre becomes apparent when the satyrs enquire after the fate of Helen after the sacking of Troy:

[SATYRS] And after you'd captured the young woman, didn't you all take turns to bonk her, since she enjoys having more than one sexual partner? The traitress! All it took was the sight of pretty colours of the trousers on his [Paris'] legs and the golden necklace he wore around his neck, and she was swept off her feet, and abandoned that excellent little man, Menelaus. I wish there were no women anywhere – except for my use. (179-186)¹⁶

Throughout the play, satyrs are characterised by a tendency towards misogyny and violence. As servants to Dionysus, satyrs are lovers of exuberant wine consumption and many other forms of debauchery. As a consequence, Hall argues, 'satyr drama also sends its spectator out to the festival not only laughing rather than crying, but reassured of his place in a joyous, sexualized, male collective.'¹⁷

¹⁵ Dana F. Sutton, *The Greek satyr play* (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1980), p. 134.

¹⁶ Euripides, *Cyclops*, in *Heracles and other plays*, Oxford World's Classics, ed. by Edith Hall, trans. by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁷ Edith Hall, 'Introduction', in *Heracles and other plays*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. vii-xlii (p. xxxi). For the debate on the purpose of satyr

Similarly, satyrs are depicted on ancient vases with permanent erections, hinting at their tendency for sexualised aggression.¹⁸

As for their habitat, satyrs populate ‘the uncultivated countryside’ and, like their master Dionysus, ‘satyrs confound many of the polarities by which ancient Greece organized its perception of the world. [...] The Roman architect Vitruvius recommends specifically that the scenery for satyr drama be decorated “with trees, mountains and other things associated with the countryside.”’¹⁹ Euripides negotiates a triad of perspectives, which yield

a rich array of oppositions and mediation in the domain of values and social behaviour, the ultimate effect of which is to affirm the norms of exchange and reciprocity that govern human – that is, Greek – communities, and, more specifically, to affirm the democratic society of the Athenian city-state.²⁰

Polyphemus is an all-consuming oligarch. Odysseus represents the urban modern democrat, while the satyrs are resonant of a ‘rustic anarchic communism’.²¹ In other words, in ancient Greek drama satyrs represent disordered, violent and lecherous rural communities.

The emergence of Christianity led to a shift in the satyr’s representation. Early Christianity built on the anarchic connotations of satyrs, but shifted their metonymic symbolism away from the satyr’s lust for nymphs and frolicking with Dionysus towards their grotesque appearances and spatial habitat. In the *King James Bible* ‘satyrs shall dance’ where Babylon stood before it was obliterated by God (Isaiah 13:19-21).²² While this passage yields no specific characterisation of the satyrs, Kaufmann argues that the ‘description in Isaiah makes abundantly clear

plays, see C.W. Marschall, ‘The sophisticated *Cyclops*’, in *Satyr drama: tragedy at play*, ed. by George W.M. Harrison (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2005), pp. 103-109; Griffith, p. 184.

¹⁸ For a depiction of satyrs in Greek art, see the Calyx-Krater at the British Museum. The wine bowl depicts the blinding of Polyphemus by Odysseus while two satyrs observe the action. Satyrs do not feature in Homer’s version of the story, which suggests that the painter of the vase may be illustrating a scene from *Kyklōps*. Dyfri Williams, *Greek vases*, 2nd edn (London, British Museum, 1999), pp. 100-101.

¹⁹ Hall, p. xxx.

²⁰ David Konstan, ‘An anthropology of Euripides’ *Kyklōps*’, in *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian drama in its social context*, ed. by John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 207-208 (p. 209).

²¹ Hall, p. xxx.

²² *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, ed. by Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997; repr. 1998).

how remotely from human experience they lead their lives.’²³ In the ninth century, Psalm 77 of the Carolingian *Stuttgart Psalter* manuscript draws on a miniature illustration of a satyr and an ape, labelled Pan and Sima, to personify the wilderness through which the Israelites must travel.



Figure 2: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS Cod.bibl.fol.23, *Stuttgart Psalter*, Psalm 77, 93v.

The awe with which the Israelites glare at the satyr and their defensive posture underlines their fear of the horned creature and, by extension, their unease towards the wilderness’ potential threat.

Euripides’ *Kyklōps* and the satyr’s further development in early Christianity pinpoint the earliest traits they adopted. Literary satyrs were virile and abusive towards women, inhabiting uncultivated or inaccessible natural spaces. ‘Satyrs’ behaviour’, as François Lissarrague argued, ‘is almost an excess of transgression[.] [...] [They] reproduce “normal” values and activities [...] by transforming them, according to a set of rules that are never random. The nature of imagery itself – which works through condensations, displacement, metaphor, and metonymy – encourages the visual exploration of the satyrs’ imaginary world.’²⁴ It is this imaginary world and the metonymic rules and values satyrs’ test which assured

²³ Lynn Frier Kaufmann, *The noble savage: satyrs and satyr families in Renaissance art* (Epping: Bowker, 1984), p. 29.

²⁴ François Lissarrague, ‘Why satyrs are good to represent’, in *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian drama in its social context*, ed. by John J. Winkler and Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 228-237 (pp. 234-235).

their literary survival. Satyrs are ‘a means to explore human culture.’²⁵ Indeed, the notion of social transgression and inherent wilderness provided early Jacobean playwrights with one option of how to populate England’s green spaces on the early modern stage.

Early modern pastoralists drew on the rapacious version of the satyr. Such plays hearken back to an anarchic society, producing a countryside which is empty, dangerous and devoid of social structures. The pastoral space reflects the satyr’s presence and is positioned in stark contrast to the ordered cityscape - nature is deserted, wild and threatening. Giambattista Guarini’s *Il Pastor Fido* (1601) was first published in Venice in 1590 and gained popularity in England by the beginning of the seventeenth century, serving as a source of inspiration for the tragicomic pastoral plays I discuss later in this chapter.²⁶ Guarini’s Arcadian satyr is inspired by the savage and violently aggressive traits of the classical satyr. Throughout the tragicomedy, the satyr seeks to abduct and rape Corsica. The inherent threat and impenetrability of the pastoral space the satyr reigns over is a dominant theme in the entire subplot. Eventually, the satyr succeeds and carries Corsica into his cave ‘by a darke and crooked way’ (L2v).²⁷ The satyr is unequivocal in his misogyny and sexual threats towards Corsica:

SATYRE	What faith oh faithlesse woman hast? Dar’st thou Yet speak of faith to me? Ill carry thee Into the darkest caue this mountaine hath: Where neuer Sunne nor humane steppe approach’t, Il’e hide the rest there thou with my delight And with thy scorne shalt feele what <i>I</i> will do with thee. (F4v)
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The natural environment in *Il Pastor Fido* is threatening and dangerous. It harbours dark and lawless sites unknown to human society. Corsica alludes to this fear of the natural environment when she accuses her abductor of being a product of the dangerous green space she is kept in: ‘Oh villaine indiscreet, vnseasonable. | Halfe a man, halfe a goat, and all a beast: | Dryed *Carogne*, defect of wicked nature’ (G1r). Guarini’s satyr embodies the danger and subversion which nature fosters. *Il*

²⁵ Ibid., p. 235.

²⁶ Raphael Lyne, ‘English Guarini: recognition and reception’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 36.1 (2006), pp. 90-102 (p. 93).

²⁷ Giambattista Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido* (London: 1602).

Pastor Fido imagines an empty and subversive countryside, devoid of all moral and social structures.

Richard Seaford argues that satyrs are not of the polis, nor do they belong into the ancient administrative city-states in ancient Greece. Satyrs are to be positioned outside the confines of civilised communities.²⁸ Accordingly, 'Renaissance writers could imagine the wild, extra urban satyr as an apt "satirist" of courtly and city vices'.²⁹ Eugene Waith observed that whilst there is no semantic connection between the terms 'satyr' and 'satire', in the Renaissance the etymological connection was uncontested. He goes on to suggest that as dislocated extra-urban characters, the satyr observes, criticises and satirises the corruption of court and city.³⁰

If classical satyrs were a means to imagine Arcadian green space as violent and anarchic, I will demonstrate how an ontological shift in the depiction of the satyr in the early sixteenth century resulted in the counter-production of an alternative environment – a natural landscape invested with royal iconography and under the protective gaze and stewardship of a benevolent satyr. The exploration of the satyr's world was subject to a continuous evaluation and it was in London's theatres where this re-evaluation was engaged with and publicly demonstrated. I want to suggest that Kaufmann's stable understanding of the satyr, where one re-invention neatly replaces the next, does not match the synchronic process of Jacobean England. Instead, early modern society, as Joan Thirsk has demonstrated, was very much aware of its classical heritage, drawing upon the pastoral and georgic works of Virgil and his contemporaries when making sense of nature.³¹ Early modern England, I argue, was conscious of the complex representational qualities of the satyr and his Arcadian green space. As a consequence, the theatrical engagement with the satyr in the seventeenth century resulted in a polyphonic imagining both of the satyr and of the geography of the Arcadian space he inhabited.

²⁸ Richard A.S. Seaford, 'Introduction', in *Cyclops* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 1-61 (p. 30).

²⁹ Robert Henke, *Pastoral transformation: Italian tragicomedy and Shakespeare's late plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997), p. 15.

³⁰ Eugene M. Waith, *The pattern of tragicomedy in Beaumont and Fletcher* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), pp. 45-75.

³¹ Joan Thirsk, 'Making a fresh start: sixteenth-century agriculture and the classical inspiration', in *Culture and cultivation in early modern England: writing the land*, ed. by Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 15-35 (p. 19).

II. 'IN THE NAVE OF ENGLAND': ALBRECHT DÜRER AND THE ELIZABETHAN TAMING OF THE WILDERNESS

Although representations of the satyr reoccurred in the *King James Bible* and the *Stuttgart Psalter*, satyrs declined in importance during the medieval period.³² With the burgeoning of the Renaissance, the German painter and art theorist Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) re-discovered their iconographic potential on his trips to northern Italy. Dürer is counted amongst the most influential artists of the German Renaissance. His work was widely received and emulated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Dürer's pan-European popularity peaked in 1600, Caroline Kraft argues, when the Council of Trent canonised his *oeuvre* and ownership of his paintings or engravings reflected prestige and political power.³³ Dürer's artistic re-discovery of the satyr had a wide impact on Europe. 'Although in classical art they were primarily associated with Dionysus or found raping nymphs, in northern Europe they became popular in the context of the satyr's family'.³⁴ Satyrs came to distinguish a landscape of a raw and primitive, but nostalgic era.³⁵ Of the satyr-themed prints and engravings, *The Satyr Family* (1505) was disseminated widely, encouraging copies and imitations all over Europe.³⁶ Although the satyr inhabits a wild and gloomy forest, the manner in which he and his wife take up a position similar to that of *Adam and Eva* (1504), an engraving Dürer had made just a year earlier, implies benevolence, whilst also gesturing at a long lost paradisiacal state. Dürer connects the first humans with satyrs; *The Satyr Family* gestures lyrically towards that moment of illumination in the dark primeval forest when family life

³² Kaufmann, p. 32.

³³ Caroline Kraft, *Dürer und die Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts: Facetten künstlerischer Rezeption* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovac, 2007), pp. 129-131.

³⁴ Kaufmann, p. 40.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 56. Similarly, Richard Hakluyt describes natives of the New World as satyrs: 'notwithstanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all these wilde people goe naked, and live in the woods like Satyrs, painted and disguised, and flie from you like wilde deere. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation: Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the Compasse of these 1600 Yeeres*, 12 vols (Glasgow: McLehose, 1905), XI, p. 401.

³⁶ Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his legacy: the graphic work of a Renaissance artist* (London: British Museum Press, 2002), pp. 245-246. Further engravings of satyrs in Dürer's oeuvre include *Hercules at the Crossroads* (1498) and *Satyr and a Woman with a Child in a Landscape* (c.1510-13).

was born.³⁷ As a noble savage, the satyr supports his human family and, as his flute suggests he masters the cultivated art of music.



Figure 3: Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eva*, 1504, Engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

³⁷ Kaufmann, p. 56.

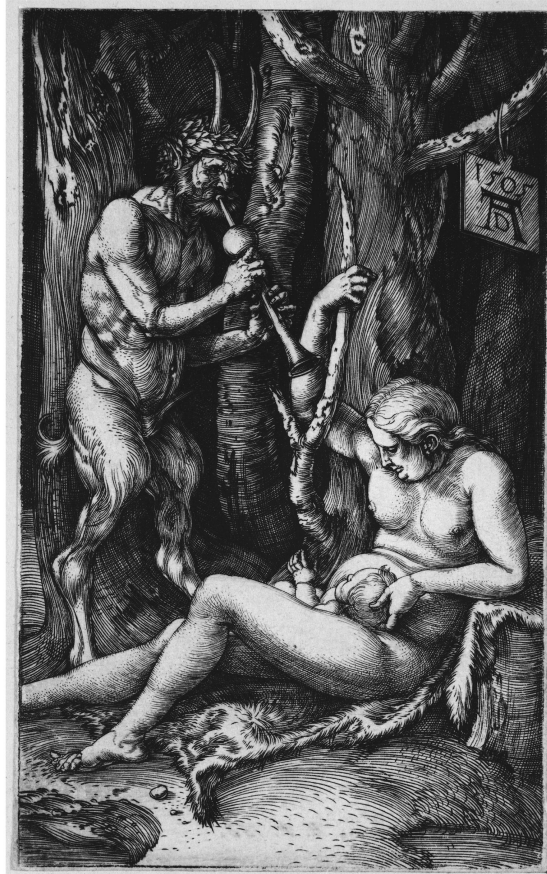


Figure 4: Albrecht Dürer, *Satyr Family*, 1505, Engraving, The British Museum, London. © Trustees of the British Museum

The meaning of satyrs shifted from savagery to nostalgic simplicity. This remarkable transformation of the satyr – away from violence and excess towards the role of rural caretaker – offers a teleology which I will explore as this chapter develops, one with a specific, and perhaps surprising, Jacobean manifestation.

Dürer's posthumous legacy in continental Europe is well established. His work was circulated, studied and copied in all European capitals by the beginning of the seventeenth century.³⁸ Dürer's work changed possession (also by way of unauthorised imitations) and was transferred between owners with a high regularity. Unfortunately, the exact nature of Dürer's reception in early modern England is largely undocumented. Nevertheless, I propose that at least three connections between Dürer's work and England existed, and it is likely that one of the satyr-themed prints, or an imitation thereof, was seen at the English court. Firstly, Dürer's work and ideas might have been first introduced to England as

³⁸ Hans Kauffmann, 'Dürer in der Kunst und im Kunsturteil um 1600', in *Vom Nachleben Dürers: Beiträge zur Kunst der Epoche von 1530 bis 1650* (Berlin: Verlag Gebrüder Mann, 1954), pp. 18-60 (p. 18).

early as 1520. During his stay in Antwerp, Dürer made acquaintance with a close member of Henry VIII's court, as he noted in his diary.

Ich porträtierte Herrn Nicholas, einen Astronomen – er lebt bei dem König von England – der mir in vielen Angelegenheiten sehr förderlich und nützlich gewesen ist. Er ist ein Deutscher, von München gebürtig.³⁹

The silverpoint portrait of Nicholas Kratzer, Henry's astronomer and diplomat, later treasurer of the exchequer under Thomas More, is now lost. However, Kratzer might have seen other engravings or paintings by the famous German traveller he met and assisted, sharing his discoveries upon his return to Henry's court in the spring of 1521.

Secondly, Dürer's work was known and studied in Elizabeth's reign. Nicholas Hilliard (c.1547-1619), a painter known for his miniatures, was acquainted with Dürer's work in quite some detail.⁴⁰ Indeed, no other artist is referred to as frequently in Hilliard's *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning* (c.1600). Hilliard rates Dürer 'as exquisite and pfect a *Painter*, and Mtr in the art of *Grauing* on *Copper* as euer was since the world begane'.⁴¹ Based on Hilliard's degree of in-depth acquaintance, particularly with engravings and prints, Horst Vey concludes that Hilliard must have been acquainted with large selections of Dürer's print work, even though they might have been copies of originals by artists misappropriating Dürer's characteristic signature.⁴²

Thirdly, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel was a connoisseur and avid collector of continental art. The early masters such as Rubens and Van Dyck feature prominently in his collection, but it was Dürer who fascinated Arundel most, partly because of the difficulty of obtaining originals.⁴³ Together with his

³⁹ Gerd Unverfehrt, *Das sah ich viel köstliche Dinge: Albrecht Dürers Reise in die Niederlande* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2007), p. 44; *Dürer's Record of Journeys to Venice and the Low Countries*, ed. and trans. by Roger Fry (New York: Dover, 1995), p. 42. 'I have made a portrait of Herr Nicholas, an astronomer who lives with the King of England, and is very helpful and of great service to me in many matters. He is German, a native of Munich.'

⁴⁰ Horst Vey, 'Nicholas Hilliard und Albrecht Dürer', in *Mouseion: Studien aus Kunst und Geschichte für Otto H. Förster*, ed. by Heinz Ladendorf and Horst Vey (Cologne: DuMont Schaubert, 1959), pp. 155-168 (p. 155).

⁴¹ Nicholas Hilliard, *A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, ed. by R.K.R. Thornton and T.G.S. Cain (Ashington: Mid Northumberland Arts Group in association with Carcanet New Press, 1981), pp. 61-115 (p. 68).

⁴² Vey, pp. 157, 162.

⁴³ Mary Frederica Sophia Hervey, *The life, correspondence, and collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), p. 131.

wife, Lady Aletheia Talbot, he was 'in constant attendance on the King or Prince'.⁴⁴ In 1607, James become godfather to Arundel's first son and Lady Arundel danced regularly in masques, for example in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* in 1609. The couple, often accompanied by Inigo Jones, took on diplomatic duties in northern Europe. Together they embarked on extensive trips to Italy in the first decades of the seventeenth century. In spite of his official duties,

[i]t was Lord Arundel's delight to go off as a kind of freelance, scantily attended by one or two selected retainers. Of these Inigo Jones was certainly the favourite, because possessed of infinitely greater knowledge than any others. On such occasions, Arundel travelled privately, eschewed all formal receptions, and lived only for the interest and enjoyment of the pursuit of art.⁴⁵

Although Arundel acquired the largest part of his Dürer collection on an embassy to Germany in 1637, Dürer's work was always an important part of his collection. Whether or not *The Satyr Family*, original print or imitation, was ever in his possession is inconclusive, though the 1655 Arundel Inventory lists works which may suggest a satyr engraving inspired by Dürer's legacy.⁴⁶ Otherwise, Arundel might have seen paintings and engravings on his artistic pursuits with Jones in Italy. If there is a connection to be made between Albrecht Dürer and James I, then, it would be most likely through Arundel, who regularly entertained the king privately at Arundel House, home of his extensive art collection. It would have been at Arundel House on the Strand where James might have been introduced to an engraving of a satyr as a noble caretaker of the countryside. None of this proves specific influence, of course, but it does suggest some interesting connections.

Dürer's influence on English visual culture is difficult to establish directly, then; but I have demonstrated how some of his work has been received and discussed in early modern England. Whether or not an original copy or an imitation of *The Satyr Family* circulated in Jacobean England cannot be established for sure. However, I will now demonstrate that Elizabeth's contemporaries, and later James himself, drew on the visual representational strength of the satyr when

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 80.

⁴⁶ Arundel's inventory lists a work by Dürer titled *A Landscape* which might refer to *Satyr and a Woman with a Child in a Landscape* (1510-13) and, even more enigmatic, an anonymous work entitled '651. *A male and female Satyr*', which could be a print inspired by *The Satyr Family*. Hervey, pp. 473-500.

projecting meaning into rural space, and, as we will see, these literary satyrs bear striking resemblances to the one in Dürer's engraving.

In 1575, Elizabeth I was lavishly received by Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire. In order to welcome the monarch in adequate fashion, Leicester staged a pageant which establishes Kenilworth as a place of perfect symmetries worthy of an English Queen. Kenilworth was 'lxxiiii myle North-west from London, and az it were in the navel of Englande, foure myle sumwhat South from Coventree a proper Cittee, and a lyke distaunce from Warwyck, a fayre Shere toun on the North.' (B1r-v)⁴⁷ The castle is not only positioned in the centre of England, but also emphatically isolated from even the slightest urban centre; it is untouched by any roads or rivers, in the very centre of the seemingly empty Midlands countryside James, as I demonstrate in Chapter Two, would come to feel uneasy about in the aftermath of the 1607 Revolt.

Not only was Kenilworth isolated, but more importantly, it was set within a picturesque and well composed pastoral Arcadian landscape:

In ayr sweet and hollsum, raised on an eazy-mounted hill, iz sette eevenlie coasted with the froont straight intoo the East, hath the tenaunts and tooun about it, that pleasauntly shifts from dale to hyll sundry whear wyth sweet springs bursting foorth: and iz so plentifullie well sorted on every side intoo arabl, meado, pasture, wood, water, and good ayz, az it appeerz to have need of nothing that may pertyn too living or pleasure. (B1r)

Indeed, the description of the events at Kenilworth goes through great efforts to portray Leicester's territory as an idealised landscape. Amy Tigner argues that the entertainment contributed to a larger cultural phenomenon which depicted England as a paradisiacal place.⁴⁸ I wish to add that Kenilworth is imagined as an Acadian space in particular, resembling that of Sir Philip Sidney's later pastoral romance *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* which is set in an almost identical landscape: 'Arcadia among all the provinces of Greece was ever had in singular

⁴⁷ 'A Letter: Wherein, part of the Entertainment, unto the Queenz Maiesty, at *Killingwoorth Castl*, in Warwik Sheer, in this Sommerz Progress, 1575, iz signified: from a freen officer attendant in the Coourt, unto hiz freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London', in *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by John Nichols, 3 vols (London: 1788), I.

⁴⁸ Amy L. Tigner, *Literature and the Renaissance garden from Elizabeth I to Charles II: England's paradise* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 24-38.

reputation, partly for the sweetness of the air and other natural benefits.⁴⁹ Similar to Leicester's ideal landscape, Sidney's *Arcadia* is 'united in perfection.' Indeed, the perfection and harmony is of so high and unreal a quality that 'it must needs be that some goddess this desert belongs unto, who is the soul of this soil; for neither is any less than goddess worthy to be shrined in such a heap of pleasures, nor any less than a goddess could have made it so perfect a model for heavenly dwellings.'⁵⁰ In the 'solitary place' of Sidney's pastoral *Arcadia*, it is Diana, the Roman goddess of the moon, hunting and chastity who sets the moral framework of the idealised Arcadian green space.⁵¹ This is no coincidence, as the commendatory equation between Elizabeth and Diana was a common one.⁵² In Leicester's pageant, however, numerous anthropomorphic creatures and caretakers of the natural world inhabit Kenilworth.

The Lady of the Lake welcomes Elizabeth with poetry and songs. But, on her final day, Elizabeth witnesses a most remarkable piece of symbolic pageantry: a satyr surprises the monarch in order to offer up his services. Silvanus, traditionally the oldest member of a satyr group or chorus, addresses the queen by establishing his native territory as 'these woods and wilderness (whereof I have the charge)' (M1r).⁵³ But immediately after what could be understood as a threatening introduction, the satyr reveals his softer side. Despite referring to himself as a local god or monarch, the satyr subjugates his own power and influence to the queen: 'but I doe humbly beseech that your Excellencie will geeve me leave to attend you as one of your footmen, wherein I undertake to doe you double service: for I will only conduct your Majestie in saftie from the perillious passages which are in these Woods and Forrests' (M1r). A similar encounter between a satyr and Elizabeth occurred in a pageant in 1592 at Bisham, Berkshire. The encounter with the queen

⁴⁹ Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 4. In the summer of 1575, the year of Elizabeth's visit, Philip Sidney may have also visited Kenilworth. Possibly, Leicester's Castle and the description of its idealised green environment might even have inspired Sidney's own Arcadian descriptions. H.R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the circulation of manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 346; Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: courtier poet* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), p. 103.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵² Patricia Merivale, *Pan the goat god: his myth in modern times* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 19; David Burchmore, 'The image of the centre in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*', *The Review of English Studies*, 28.112 (1977), pp. 393-406 (p. 402).

⁵³ Leo Vinci, *Pan: great god of nature* (London: Neptune, 1993), pp. 276-279.

immediately tames the satyr and he happily incorporates his unnavigable and dangerous space into the queen's moral and legal framework.

[M]y untamed thoughts waxe gentle, and I feele in myselfe civility, a thing hated, because not knowne; and unknowne, because I knew not you. Thus Vertue tameth fiereness; Beauty madnesse. Your Majestie on my knees will I followe, bearing this Club, not as a Savage, but to beate downe those that are. (B1v)⁵⁴

In Kenilworth, the satyr's primary objective was to persuade Elizabeth to extend her stay at the castle. In order to achieve that goal, he promises to combine the forces of all mythical rulers to create a homogeneous prelapsarian environment in the service of the queen.

Furthermore, I will intreat Dame Flora to make it continually spring here with store of redolent and fragrant flowers. Ceres shall be compelled to yeelde your Majesties competent provision; and Bacchus shal be sued into the first-fruits of his vineyards. To be short, O peerelesse Princes, you shall have all things that may possibly be gotten for the furthuraunce of your delights. And I shall be most glad and triumphant, if I may place my Godhead in your service perpetually.

[...]

These woods, these waves, these foulds, these fishes, these deere which are your due!

Live here, good Queene, live here; you are amongst your friends;

Their comfort comes when you approach, and when are part it ends.

What fruits this soyle may serve, thereof you may be sure:

Dame Ceres and Dame Flores both will with you still indure.

Diana would be glad to meet you in the chase;

Silvanus and the Forest Gods would follow you apace.

Yea, Pan would pipe his part, such daunces as he can:

Or else Apollo musicke make, and Mars would be your man.

(M2r-M3v)

Flora and Ceres, (both of which we will encounter again in Shakespearean Arcadias) Bacchus, Silvanus, Pan, Forest Gods, and the satyr himself are imagined as peripheral, local and mythical deities of a mythologised countryside. The satyr promised Elizabeth that these deities will put their powers inline with her own interests, coexisting in harmony with the monarch to create an overall unified space. To make the pastoral space's representational subservience to the monarch even more apparent, earlier in the procession, a satyr-like creature, a '*Hombre*

⁵⁴ 'Speeches Delivered to Her Majestie', in *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by John Nichols, 3 vols (London: 1788), II.

Salvagio, with an oken plant pluct up by the roots in hiz hand, himselfe forgrone all in moss and ivy' (C2v), begs Elizabeth to introduce order and civilisation to the natural environment surrounding Kenilworth Castle:

O QUEENE, I must confesse, it is not without cause,
These civil people so rejoyce, that you should give them lawes.
Since I, which live at large, a wilde and savage man,
And have ronned out a wilfull race since first my lyfe began,
So here submit my selfe, beseeching you to serve;
And that you take it worth, which can but well deserve.
[...]
O Queene, without compare, you must not think it strange,
That here, amid this wilderness, your glorie so doth raunge.
The windes resound your worth, the rockes record your name;
These hills, these dales, these woods, these waves, these fields
pronounce your fame:
And we which dwell abroade, can hear none other news;
But tydings of an English Queene, whome Heaven hath dect with hews.
(K1r)⁵⁵

Andrew McRae has noted the motif of 'savagery tamed by nobility' in this scene. 'The essential function of such a figure [as Silvanus],' he argues, 'is to demonstrate the power of royal authority over apparently untamed nature.'⁵⁶ But, at the same time, the satyr 'hints at latent challenges to Elizabethan society, rooted in the nation's wilder landscapes [...] [which] proved stubbornly resistant to the form of authority encoded by the royal progress.'⁵⁷ Indeed, what these various deities hint at, I will demonstrate, is a persistent sense of locality and independence which endures beyond the orthodoxy of the court.

Originally a symbol of a violent retrospective community, the satyr subjects himself and his untamed space to Elizabeth at Kenilworth and Bisham. Elizabeth's satyrs are domesticated and civilised by way of subjection to contemporary codes of legal civility. Interestingly, the *Hombre Salvagio* requested Elizabeth to tame the

⁵⁵ The origin of the *Hombre Salvagio* is rather obscure. His name might be a Spanish malapropism for savage man. During Elizabeth's reign a range of English-Spanish dictionaries 'emphasize the "evill" of the Spanish terrain, characterizing it as both impassable and fraught with lying peasants.' Hannah Leah Crummé, 'The Earl of Leicester's Spanish speaking secretariat', *Journal for the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies*, 21 (2011), pp. 1-48 (p. 24). In addition to demonstrating Elizabeth's role as the tamer of the wilderness, perhaps the *Hombre Salvagio* is supposed to reflect on Elizabeth's imagined role as tamer of the unruly Spain landscape and, by implication, the conqueror of Catholicism.

⁵⁶ Andrew McRae, *Literature and domestic travel in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 151.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 152-153.

wilderness by introducing laws, surveillance and control. In 1575, the Arcadian green space seeks incorporation into central monarchic authority. Read through this lens, the Arcadian space at Kenilworth does not aim to take us back to a better past, but instead attempts to position itself in the present, striving for inclusion on Elizabeth's royal map. Indeed, the pageants' homogenisation of ideal green space resembles Spenser's transformation of the 'forrest wilde' in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser's writing was troubled by 'tensions between an imperative to project a unified national community and a recognition of growing divisions'.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, in Spenser's 'shepherds nation', Elizabeth's physical presence as 'Eliza, the Queene of shepherds' in *The Shepherd's Calendar* or Gloriana in *The Faerie Queene* is hardly challenged (12r).⁵⁹ While Eliza and Gloriana rule over a homogeneous pastoral space, Spenser produces England's ideal green space as part of a unified territory. Similarly, Elizabeth's pageants to Kenilworth and Bisham produce green spaces which homogeneously reflect her politics of an ideal version of the English countryside.

The satyrs in Elizabeth's processions to Kenilworth and Bisham symbolically forsake their violent nature to dedicate their services to the monarch. The representatives of potentially wild and subversive green spaces are re-cast into satyrs which bear resemblances with Dürer's engravings – Elizabeth's satyrs are noble and civilised caretakers, they offer themselves up as local extensions of Elizabethan politics in the countryside. By way of symbolically re-casting the satyr, the processions imagine the supposedly empty green spaces of the countryside as an ideal Arcadia firmly under the monarch's gaze.

If in 1575 the latent and local challenges represented by Sylvanus bow in reverence to Elizabeth, the situation would change by the early seventeenth century. James would also draw on the new representational qualities of the satyr in order to produce a landscape under his control. On the early modern stage, however, oppositional writers and dramatists inverted James' English Arcadia into its homeomorphic opposite. I will show how the satyr's gesture towards a localised and independent countryside intensified in the early seventeenth century – an era which propelled the tendency (and counter-tendency) to homogenise the country

⁵⁸ Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'shepherds nation': Jacobean Spenserians and early Stuart political culture, 1612-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), p. 1. See also Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, politics and national identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 173-189.

⁵⁹ Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender* (London: 1579).

by taming the its peripheral wilderness. However, wild Jacobean satyrs and the local violence and disturbances they represent were not as easily silenced as in Elizabeth's processions to Kenilworth and Bisham. Their very symbolic presence and the subversive social relations they represented resonated in the court's uncomfortable relationship with its peripheral geography and pockets of resistance. It is through this lens that I analyse Jacobean Arcadias and the satyr in order uncover the cultural work they do in the space between the binaries of the court and its discontents in pastoral literature and drama.

III. 'THE GLORYE OF TH'ARCADIAN STATE': PAN AND THE CENTRAL STEWARDSHIP OF ARCADIA

Harry Berger has argued that a 'major theme of Renaissance literature centers on the techniques of controlled and experimental withdrawal into an artificial world – a "second nature" created by the mind – where the elements of actuality are selectively admitted, simplified and explored.'⁶⁰ Robert Watson has added that 'the most sophisticated Renaissance pastorals recognize that real or first world as no less selectively perceived, no less necessarily simplified. The mind is its own place, and necessarily makes a pastoral retreat of an infinite universe of bustling sense-perceptions.'⁶¹ Similarly, Henri Lefebvre has emphasised the importance of mimesis in the production of natural space. Mimesis replicates complexity and abstraction as a coherent system, producing a blend of both real and artificial. By way of mimicking nature, a 'second nature' is produced which 'pitches its tent in an artificial world [...] and there salutes primary nature'.⁶² Lefebvre stressed the importance of artificiality when producing 'second nature.' I now explore the nature of the artificial Arcadian world pastoral drama produces, arguing that the pastoral literary genre underwent a significant spatial shift in Jacobean England; depending on the subjective mind, the 'second nature' of fictional and idealised Arcadian landscapes takes on new political and geographical implications for early modern England. Graham Holderness has argued that pastoral is a 'sophisticated courtly form, a convention which represents the works of nature through the

⁶⁰ Harry Berger, Jr., 'The ecology of the mind', *Centennial Review*, 8.4 (1964), pp. 409-434 (p. 425).

⁶¹ Robert N. Watson, *Back to nature: the green and the real in the late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2006), p. 87.

⁶² Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 376.

construction of artifice.’⁶³ He suggests that pastoral landscapes are conveniently static; however, I will show that the artificiality which underlay pastoral Arcadias had plenty of scope for subjectivity, opposition and the imagination of multivocal and layered imaginings of idealised green space in both private and public early modern entertainments.

The artificial and contrived nature of Arcadian landscapes allowed dramatists to test and criticise central hegemonies, whilst others drew on the fictional ideal space in order to confirm a political *status quo*. I wish to demonstrate how the ‘elements of actuality’ connected to the rural environment have been subjectively mimicked and manipulated by playwrights and poets in order to engage with debates on the place of Arcadia and how a satyr of a specifically Jacobean kind came to govern over contested English pastoral environments.

In 1623, James was confronted with widespread scrutiny. Prince Charles, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, had travelled to Spain in order to precipitate the marriage negotiations with the Infanta Maria Anna, daughter to King Philip III of Spain. The opposition criticised that James was surrendering the English throne to the Spanish Catholics. Faced with public outrage, James chose to respond with a pastoral poem. *Off Jacke and Tom* circulated widely in manuscript form and offered an allegorical context for Charles’ voyage to Spain.⁶⁴

WHATT: suddayne Chance hath darkt of late
the glorie of th’Arcadian State
the ffleecye fflockes, reffuse to feede
the Lambes to playe the Ewes to breede.
The Altars smoak the Offeringes Burne
that Jacke and Tom, may safe Returne.

The Springe neglects his Course to keepe
the Ayre contynual stormes doth weepe
The prettye Byrdes, disdayne to singe
the Meades to smyle, the Woods to springe
The Mountaynes droppe the ffountaines mourne
tyll Jacke and Tom, doe safe Returne.

⁶³ Graham Holderness, ‘*The Winter’s Tale: country into court*’, in *Shakespeare, out of court: dramatizations of court society*, ed. by Graham Holderness, Nick Potter, and John Turner (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 195-135 (p. 195).

⁶⁴ Curtis Perry, “‘If proclamations will not serve’: the late manuscript poetry of James I and the culture of libel”, in *Royal subjects: essays on the writings of James VI and I*, ed. by Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002), pp. 205-232 (p. 221).

What maye bee that move this woe
 whose want afflicts Arcadia soe
 The hope of Greece the propp of Artes
 was prencely Jack the joye of hartes,
 And Tom, was to our Royall Pan
 his truest Swayne and cheiffest Man.

[...]

Kinde Sheapeardes, that have lov'd them longe
 bee not so rashe, in Censuringe wronge
 Correct your ffeares, leave off to murne,
 The Heavens will favour there returne,
 Remitt the Care, to Royall Pan
 of Jacke his Sonne, and Tom, his Man.⁶⁵

The poem reduces public anxiety to the ambient distress of an Arcadian environment. Correlating England with Arcadia and James with the Arcadian god Pan, the poem calls for the trust of both parliament and the public. England is in safe hands and under the careful stewardship of the god-like James, the 'Royall Pan.'⁶⁶ Crucially, the poem imagined the entire realm as a pastoral Arcadian space with Pan protecting and mysteriously ruling over everyone's well being. Any moral pollution has originated from within the realm itself, in this case due to a lack of faith in Pan/James and the Arcadians concomitant 'rashe' conclusions. Checking any libellous political opinion, James' poem intervenes to defuse the ideological disagreements which his pacifying politics with Spain have generated. His English Arcadia, and by implication the remotest, most rural part of the realm, is metamorphosed from a world of communal pastoral love, as was the case in the Arcadia of Virgil's *Eclogues* or Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar*, to a Jacobean nation devoted to royal authority.⁶⁷

Ceremonial identification of James I with Pan was as common as the equation between Elizabeth and Diana.⁶⁸ Pan, as Francis Bacon notes in *Pan, or Nature* (1605), 'is the god of hunters, of shepherds, and generally of dwellers in the country'. Attended by satyrs, he 'had the power likewise of exciting sudden terrors,

⁶⁵ *The poems of King James VI of Scotland*, ed. by James Craigie, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1958), II., pp. 192-193.

⁶⁶ Patterson, p. 147.

⁶⁷ Perry, p. 223.

⁶⁸ Merivale, p. 19.

- empty and superstitious ones especially; - thence called Panics.’⁶⁹ Pan is not only the god of shepherds, he is also said to inhabit ‘caves and sanctuaries, [which] were far away from roads in places of difficult access. [...] Pan’s landscape included the uncultivated land where the goatherds moved, this was at a distance from the fields.’⁷⁰ Just like the satyr, Pan was subject to an etymological misconception in the early modern period. Modern critics have established that the term is derived from *pa-on* (grazer). In Jacobean England, however, Pan was commonly understood to derive from the Greek word for ‘All’, and represented ‘the universal frame of things, or Nature’ itself.⁷¹ Indeed, James likened himself to an all-pervasive power in 1609, when he declared that ‘Kings are iustly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner of resemblance of Diuine power vpon earth: For if you wil consider the Attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a King.’⁷² Pan, it would seem, is a fitting alias for a king who was intent on expanding his influence and royal authority well beyond the court and into the rural environment.⁷³ James’ self-fashioning as Pan in *Off Jacke and Tom* pursues a similar objective as *The Book of Sports*, which also sought to unify the countryside under a homogeneously Protestant Jacobean political rule.

Pan’s visual appearance, however, is less flattering. ‘His person is described by ancient tradition as follows: With horns, and the tops of the horns reaching heaven; his whole body shaggy and hairy; his beard especially long. In figure, biform; human in the upper parts, the other half brute; ending in the feet of a goat.’⁷⁴ Whilst James (and later Jonson) only select certain characteristics to promote a particular view on Jacobean kingship, Bacon alludes to the full range of meaning underpinning Pan; in effect, Pan, as in the *Stuttgart Psalter*, was a higher-ranking satyr.⁷⁵ And as a satyr, James imagined himself as a caretaker over humans and the remote, wild and barren spaces of the vast countryside, just as the satyrs in

⁶⁹ *The works of Francis Bacon*, ed. by James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols (London: Longmans, 1878; repr. Routledge, 1996), VI.ii, p. 708.

⁷⁰ Vinci, p. 34.

⁷¹ *The works of Francis Bacon*, VI.ii, p. 709.

⁷² *The political works of James I*, ed. by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 307.

⁷³ Leah Marcus, ‘Politics and pastoral: writing the court on the countryside’, in *Culture and politics in early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1994), pp. 139-159 (p. 139).

⁷⁴ *The works of Francis Bacon*, VI.ii, p. 708.

⁷⁵ See also Anthony Parr, ‘Time and satyr’, *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 68.3 (2005), pp. 429-465 (p. 447).

Dürer's engravings. Leah Marcus observed that the Stuarts' idealised vision of the countryside included 'seats of loyal gentry and aristocracy and with happy villages whose loyal inhabitants cultivated the land'.⁷⁶ The character of the satyr allowed James to represent the countryside through this ideological lens. Green spaces, such as the Arcadian space in *Off Jacke and Tom*, were firmly positioned under monarchic authority - in his ceremonial role as Pan, James represented the equitable and competent caretaker of an ideologically unified English countryside.

Ben Jonson's *Pan's Anniversary, or the Shepherds' Holiday* was presented at court on James' birthday in 1620.⁷⁷ The masque is set in Arcadia and imagines a landscape which emphasises the beauty and visual harmony of a centralised English countryside.

SHEPHERD And come you prime Arcadians forth, that taught
 By Pan the rites of true society,
 From his loud music all your manners wrought,
 And made your common wealth a harmony,
 Commending so to all posterity
 Your innocence[.]⁷⁸

The masque juxtaposes the Arcadian shepherds with fencers from Thebes, whose foreign dissonances – their bravado, militantism, and clownish nature – threaten to take over the festive atmosphere of James' celebrations. In the course of the masque, the fencer has two opportunities to impose his foreign swaggering warlike behaviour on the shepherds in antimasques before he fails and is expelled:

SHEPHERD Now let them return with their solid heads, and carry
 their stupidity into Boeotia, whence they brought it,
 with an emblem of themselves and their country. This is
 too pure an air for so gross brains.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Marcus, p. 140.

⁷⁷ Martin Butler rejects this commonly accepted date, favouring instead 6 January 1621 for the masque's performance. Martin Butler, 'Ben Jonson's *Pan's Anniversary* and the politics of early Stuart pastoral', *English Literary Renaissance*, 22.3 (1992), pp. 369-404 (pp. 397-404).

⁷⁸ *Pan's Anniversary, or the Shepherds' Holiday*, in *Ben Jonson: the complete masques*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 306-315 (p. 312). Robert Torrance has noted that '[e]xquisitely artificial though the masque may formally be, it is infused with the colors, scents, and sounds of a very concrete natural world.' *Encompassing nature: a sourcebook, nature and culture from ancient times to the modern world*, ed. by Robert Mitchell Torrance (Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1999), p. 824.

⁷⁹ *Pan's Anniversary*, p. 314.

Arcadia is restored and its inhabitants continue their festivities. Courtesy of Pan's pacifist politics, Arcadia is kept free from foreign invasion; his foresight and wisdom have made him the 'father of our peace and pleasure', whilst his politics have also beautified the English landscape.⁸⁰

The physical landscape represented in the masque is a reflection of its ideal political landscape. The masque presents James in the most elevated and transcendent light in his role as the purifier of the foreign invasion. 'The figure of Pan is taken over in such a way to accentuate the irresistibility of the monarch's power', Martin Butler observes.⁸¹ Pan, the ruling satyr, is simultaneously the local and central caretaker of a his Arcadian society:

HYMN 2 Pan is our all, by him we breathe, we live,
 We move, we are; 'tis he our lambs doth rear,
 Our flocks doth bless, and from the store doth give
 The warm and finer fleeces that we wear.
 He keeps away all heats and colds,
 Drives all diseases from our folds,
 Makes everywhere the spring to dwell,
 The ewes to feed, their udders swell;
 But if he frown, the sheep (alas),
 The shepherds wither, and the grass.
 Strive, strive to please him then by still increasing thus
 The rites are due to him, who doth all right for us.⁸²

Furthermore, the Arcadians thank him for the inescapable power he wields:

 That we preserved by thee, and thou observed by us,
 May both live safe in shade of thy loved [Mount]
 Maenalus.⁸³

Indeed, Pan's, or James', presence throughout the masque is haunting and ubiquitous. As in Bacon's definition, Pan is ruling and ordering the frame of things in a rightful and authoritative manner. The characteristics of Jonson's Pan are carefully selected; in his role as a satyr, Jonson fashions James as the steward of rural England, thereby bringing the countryside into the court. His persona sidesteps the classical satyr attributes. Like Dürer's humanist rural satyr, James looks after the humans and masters the art of music, teaching it to his devoted Arcadians: 'Pan, | That taught us swains first to tune our lays, | And on the pipe

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 315.

⁸¹ Butler, p. 395.

⁸² *Pan's Anniversary*, p. 313.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 315.

more airs than Phoebus can'.⁸⁴ As the 'satyric' outsider, James is both observer and, in his role as nature-god, invested in spatial order and control. If *Off Jacke and Tom* produces the countryside as a participant in Pan's politics, Jonson's masque shows how rural shepherds celebrate the authority of Pan. The masque imagines the Arcadian countryside as part of the court. Green spaces are an indistinguishable component of courtly politics; both poem and masque amalgamate the urban centre and rural periphery into one homogeneous English Arcadia under Jacobean authority.

I have demonstrated how the poem and masque imagine a countryside which is ideologically in line with Jacobean politics. *Off Jacke and Tom* and *Pan's Anniversary* merge the satyr's Arcadian green space with that of the court in order to produce a unified English Arcadia. This mode of representation, however, was not the only one prevalent in London's theatrical environment; as I argue in this thesis overall, green spaces, as collectively produced on stage, were layered and contested, exploring equally multivocal and parallel debates and discourses. Even though James likened himself to Pan ever since he ascended the throne, rarely was his intervention into the artistic production of the countryside as pronounced and unequivocal as it was in the early 1620s. I suggest that this was a response to a growing conception of the satyr and his potentially subversive countryside as one which increasingly distanced itself from the urban court. Such localised or decentralised versions of Arcadian green space were explored by the Spenserians, a group of writers notoriously critical of the Jacobean court. I have argued above that the satyr was polyphonic in his signification. This polyphonic nature and the contemporary etymological misunderstanding of 'satyr' and 'satire' opened the door for conflicting and irreconcilable imaginings of English Arcadias which were not only a homogeneous part of the kingdom, but also detached and independent, its government devolved into the margins. In his role as a Jacobean satyr, early modern authors and dramatists also depicted Pan as an inactive outsider to the politics of a detached and independent Arcadian countryside. Spenserian writers depicted satyrs as ugly and deformed, violent and lecherous, and repositioned the Arcadian ideal back into the distant, unmapped green spaces between the navigational grid.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 313.

IV. THE SPENSERIAN AND THE TAMING OF THE SATYR: *POLY-OLBION AND THE FAITHFUL SHEPHERDESS*

Conservative Stuart pastoralists, notably Robert Daborne in *The Poor Man's Comfort* (1615-1617) or James Shirley in *A Pastorall called the Arcadia* (1640), staged Arcadias which did not feature the fantastical pastoral motifs we located in the Elizabethan works of Sidney, Spenser and the royal processions. However, Spenserian poets and dramatists developed the seemingly neutral set of pastoral motifs into political signifiers in order to invert the Jacobean Arcadia into a space which opposes the centre. I argue that the polyphonic quality of the satyr allowed playwrights to produce incompatible theatrical representations of peripheral Arcadias according to their own political agendas.

The Spenserians constituted a group of poets and dramatists 'who were alienated from court and sometimes used the traditional symbolism of Protestant pastoral to voice their discontent.'⁸⁵ Richard Helgerson demonstrated how they share 'an intensely patriotic attachment to the land and its depiction and an equally intense nostalgia for the age of Elizabeth [which] went hand in hand with a disdain for the Stuart monarch and his court.'⁸⁶ The representation of Arcadian green space, I wish to suggest, was a gauge for the Spenserians' critical and oppositional politics towards the court. Arcadia, I argue, was purposefully decentred or shifted to the periphery from where the court could be opposed by way of alternative and self-governed realms.⁸⁷ The Spenserians tested the polyphonic pastoral motifs they inherited from their classical predecessors and pushed them to the brink of political transgression. I wish to suggest that the ideological matrix informing the theatrical representation of Arcadian green space is simultaneously resonant of James' production of an English Arcadia, which we encountered in *Off Jacke and Tom*, but at the same time early modern drama transferred the Arcadian ideal into a counter-political or marginal counter-space

⁸⁵ David Norbrook, *Poetry and politics in the English Renaissance*, revised edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 175.

⁸⁶ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 129-130.

⁸⁷ See also Helgerson, p. 130. 'The woods and rivers of England, or rather their representation, provided an ideologically secure refuge against official despotism, a sanctuary whose authority could be impugned only by one willing, as the king was not, to set himself openly against the country.' See also Ina Schabert, *Die Lyrik der Spenserianer: Ansätze zu einer absoluten Dichtung in England 1590-1660* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977), p. 39.

beyond royal authority. The Spenserians produced dissociated and independent Arcadias, incompatible with James' overarching English Arcadia. Within their marginal counter-space, the Spenserians voiced their discontent, creating an alternative political space in the supposedly empty countryside.

Whilst James fashioned himself as Pan, the omniscient king of an Arcadian England, this disparate group of writers inverted his discursive production and theatrical representation of the countryside. In *Off Jacke and Tom* authority is centralised; James', or Pan's, influence prevails over all of Arcadia.⁸⁸ In their pastoral drama, Spenserian dramatists produce a rural environment which acts as a foil for critiquing James. Both parties considered themselves, to some extent, as satyrs. In his role as a romanticised satyr of Dürer's tradition, James imagined harmonious green spaces by way of ruling over a nostalgic English Arcadia. The Spenserians staged 'satyric' outsiders to the central realm in their artistic output, commenting and bringing to the forefront ideals they disagree with. They also emphasised the classical satyr attributes, producing the oppositional countryside as lawless and remote. Leah Marcus has argued that

Stuart pastoral was designed to reduce the distance between the urban and the rural. By remaking the court in the image of the idealised countryside, or by imaginatively recasting the countryside itself in terms of an idealised pastoral image, early Stuart monarchs sought to promulgate a vision of the nation untroubled by evils of modernisation – by the movement of population to London that crowded the city while leaving at least some rural areas in decay, and by a new commercialisation of rural life that threatened a time-honoured post-feudal agrarian image of "Merry England."⁸⁹

Yet, Marcus' description of pastoral representation is just one of the binaries under which early modern culture imagined Arcadia. The idea of an idealised topology was subject to fluid inversions in early modern poetry and drama. If James and Jonson would imagine the rural environment as observable and easily governed by Pan, that was in response to a dramatic counter-production of the same Arcadian space which offered a completely different vantage point, highlighting local and rural independence and resistance instead. I now look at Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* and John Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* in order to propose that the Spenserians disconnected Arcadia from the centre, producing local and

⁸⁸ Perry, p. 211.

⁸⁹ Marcus, p. 140.

independent little green realms in the margins, increasing rather than reducing the geographical distance between the court and the countryside.

Poly-Olbion, Michael Drayton's chorographical description of England, was first published in 1612 and republished with a second part in 1622. It depicts a landscape which stands in opposition to James' ideal of a unified and homogeneous space. Rather, the text disconnects the green spaces from each other and from the court; Drayton represents the countryside as comprising of numerous independent Arcadias governed by local deities. In Song XVI, a sequence which hearkens back to *The Faerie Queene*, Drayton describes the confluence of the River Thames with the River Isis as a ceremonious wedding.⁹⁰ Accompanied by a 'guard of satyrs, which were sent | From *Whichwood*, to await the bright and God-like Dame', Isis is underway to Oxford to meet her husband Thames, who is equally escorted by satyrs.⁹¹ After describing how the two rivers are adorned with flowers and herbs, the marriage rites are completed and the festivities begin. River Cherwell sings a prothalamion requesting that the entire realm, even the less noble places of the country, display their respect to the marriage of the two rivers:

Stand fast ye higher Hills: low vallies easily lie:
And Forrests that to both you equally apply
(But for the greater part, both wilde and barren be)
Retire ye to your wastes; and Riuers only we,
Oft meeting let vs mixe.⁹²

In the course of his chorography, Drayton acknowledges the presence of savage creatures and wild and barren sites. Richard Helgerson has argued that whilst Spenser's work promoted the achievements of both crown and country, Drayton's work was politically delicate because it replaced the affection for Elizabeth, a powerful political tool during her reign, with affection for the countryside. Not only does the chorography acknowledge the existence of wild, barren and unsurveyable green space in a heterogeneous countryside, Drayton also marginalises the Stuart monarch, asserting his own loyalty firmly with the oppositional Spenserians.⁹³ Drayton's work achieves the opposite of *Pan's Anniversary*. The countryside is

⁹⁰ In Book IV, Spenser describes the marriage of River Thames and River Medway and the congregation of numerous sea-gods who came to celebrate. For the connection between Spenser and Drayton, see Helgerson, pp. 126-131.

⁹¹ Michael Drayton, *A Chorographical Description*, 2 vols (London: 1622), I, p. 239

⁹² *Ibid.*, I, p. 242.

⁹³ Helgerson, pp. 126-131. See also Richard F. Hardin, *Michael Drayton and the passing of Elizabethan England* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1973), pp. 85-87.

sprawling, wild, and unsurveyable. Pan does not rule over this territory; in fact he is not mentioned once. Instead a plethora of local anthropomorphic natural deities reign, such as common satyrs, 'the God-like Dame' Isis, the Thames, or even Maid Marian, who Diana-like, '[w]as soueraigne of the Woods.'⁹⁴ Not only is Pan unmentioned, but James is also omitted from the catalogue of English monarchs in Song XVII.⁹⁵ Drayton, I argue, opposes the court's homogenisation of rural England. As Bernhard Klein has argued, *Poly-Olbion* displays the 'mutual incompatibility of the discursive communities assembled on its pages.'⁹⁶ Indeed, the poem fragments the English countryside. I argue that by way of depicting the landscape as a 'horizontal monarchy of composite states', Drayton resists the discursive prevalence of Pan over the rural periphery.⁹⁷ This results in the production of a homeomorphically different spatial topology from that which James would imagine in his later poem. The illustration to Song XVI depicts a quintessentially empty countryside populated only by local river gods and anthropomorphic woodland deities. As Richard Hardin observes, 'for every Greek or Roman place or personage there is a corresponding one in [Drayton's] own country.'⁹⁸ As a whole, *Poly-Olbion* detaches the countryside from the court and produces local and independent green spaces. In effect, Pan's totalising, homogenising gaze is made redundant and overwritten with a plethora of local caretakers. The very title *Poly-Olbion* implies a celebration of spatial multiplicity, not of a homogeneous England. Contrary to Jonson's masque, Drayton's landscape is not invested with centralised royal iconography; instead, local caretakers represent the sprawling countryside. I now demonstrate how a playwright associated with the Spenserians imagines an Arcadian green space which is similarly localised and independent and puts the satyr to an entirely new usage.

⁹⁴ Drayton, II., p. 123.

⁹⁵ Jean F. Brink, *Michael Drayton revisited* (Boston: Twayne, 1990), p. 86.

⁹⁶ Bernhard Klein, 'Imaginary journeys: Spenser, Drayton, and the poetics of national space', in *Literature, mapping, and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 204-224 (p. 214).

⁹⁷ Raphael Falco, 'Women, genealogy, and composite monarchy in Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 40.2 (2010), pp. 238-271 (p. 252).

⁹⁸ Hardin, p. 64.

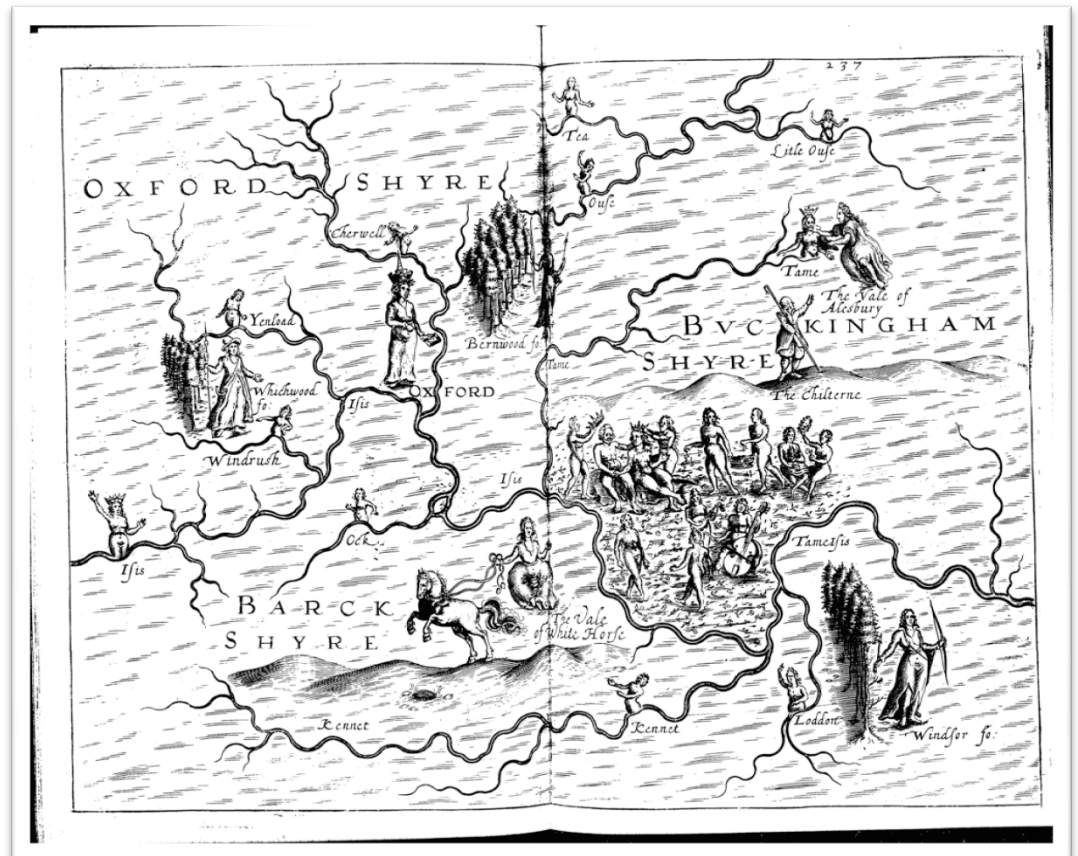


Figure 5: Michael Drayton, *A Chorographicall Description*, 2 vols (London: 1622), I, p. 137.

Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* was first performed by the Children of the Queen's Revels. However, audiences received the play unsympathetically and the company quickly withdrew it from its repertory. This defeat prompted Fletcher to publish it in 1609 with a prefatory apparatus designed to justify the play's lack of success. The play centres on Clorin, who is determined to refuse the company of men after the death of her lover. She withdraws into her private cabin in the Arcadian woods. The subplots involve numerous love triangles which are eventually resolved by Clorin's newly acquired understanding of the healing powers of nature.

Given that the female protagonist vows a life of eternal chastity and virtue, James Yoch suggests that the tragicomedy expresses nostalgia for Queen Elizabeth and ominously marginalises King James, represented in his role as Pan.⁹⁹ Similarly, Lee Bliss has argued that the shepherds' relationship to Pan is 'less mysterious and

⁹⁹ James Yoch, 'The Renaissance dramatization of temperance: the Italian revival of tragicomedy and *The Faithful Shepherdess*', in *Renaissance tragicomedy: explorations in genre and politics*, ed. by Nancy Klein Maguire (New York: AMS, 1987), pp. 115-138 (p. 132).

Of Gods:
[...]
Lowly do I bend my knee,
In worship of thy dietie[.] (I.i.57-67)

In *The Faithful Shepherdess*, Pan is an ambiguous entity. The satyr is openly averse to serving him and is eventually content to defect. Indeed, behind the perfunctory praise, criticism is rather unequivocal. As military chief, Pan commands 'troopes of Satyres and of Faunes' (III.i.157), which is all the more worrying given Pan's proclivity towards wrathfulness. The shepherds express their fear of Pan and the subsequent punishments should they fail to be loyal: 'Else *Pan* wreake | With double vengeance, my disloyalty' (V.v.123).

Echoing a frequent complaint of the Spenserians, Pan also hosts elaborate and licentious entertainments to entertain himself and his assorted guests.¹⁰⁵ As the satyr puts it:

SATYR great *Pan* commaunded me
To walke this grove about, whilst he
In a corner of the wood,
Where never mortall foote hath stood,
Keepes dancing, musicke and a feast,
To intertaine a lovely guest:
Where he gives her many a rose
Sweeter then the breath that blowes
The leaves: grapes, beries of the best,
I neuer saw so great a feast. (III.i.170-179)

Ironically, Pan's double standards are revealed in the command he has given the satyr. He has been delegated to 'see what mortals loose their way, | And by a false fire seeming bright, | Traine them in and leaue them right: | Then must I watch if any be | Forcing of a chastity' (III.i.185). Pan may revel and flirt with attractive female guests, revealing his lecherous satyr-like predilections, whilst Arcadians are policed to maintain chastity. It is only to be expected that the satyr defects and joins the ranks of Clorin, whose morals of temperance are more steadfast and coherent.¹⁰⁶ The satyr, here an untamed representative of the unease hidden in wild nature, renounces Pan. Rejecting the hypocritical authority of the court, the satyr subjects himself to a local Arcadian deity.

¹⁰⁵ Norbrook, p. 179.

¹⁰⁶ See also Finkelpearl, p. 105.

Fletcher's Pan is closer to Euripides' rapacious satyr than to Dürer's humanist satyr. However, I now wish to argue that Fletcher not only marginalises James, but portrays Arcadia as largely independent and as situated in the periphery of the urban court.¹⁰⁷ Clorin represents more than just a nostalgic recollection of the reign of Elizabeth, as Yoch and Bliss suggest. Clorin is mostly referred to in religious terms; she is not just a national ruler, but also as a local goddess. Throughout the play, she is called 'dietie' (I.i.67), 'holy mayde' (V.ii.5), or 'goddesse' (I.i.68). Furthermore, the satyr metaphorically transfers his power over the Arcadian environment to Clorin:

SATYR	Heere be berries for a Queene, [...] The great God Pan, himself doth eate: All these, and what the woods can yield, The hanging mountaine of the field, I freely offer, and ere long, Will bring you more, more sweet and strong. (I.i.88-96).
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After the completion of the symbolic transfer, Clorin replaces Pan as the caretaker of Arcadia; she learns to access nature's abundance of healing powers independently and more efficiently.¹⁰⁸ However, Clorin is not the only local ruler. In a scene which could easily stem from *Poly-Olbion*, the 'God of the Riuer' restores Amoret back to life, after she was stabbed by the jealous Perigot in one of the subplots. The river god stands in opposition to Pan; he is the 'Fountaynes God', the 'immortall power, that rul'st this holy flud' (III.i.401, 437). Like Clorin, the River god is a local deity and significantly more authoritative than Pan who, as I have shown, Fletcher portrays in ambiguous terms and who fails to have an impact on the play's action. On the contrary, the rural environment is inhabited by 'nimble footed Faries' (I.ii.102) and, like Drayton's illustration, alive with 'powers: | That inhabit in the lakes, | In the pleasant springs or brakes' (V.v.219-221). *The Faithful Shepherdess*, I argue, discursively replaces Pan's reign with a range of local caretakers and deities. Shifting Arcadia beyond the reach of Pan, Fletcher opposes

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Daniel, a prominent Spenserian playwright, also produced decentralised Arcadian green spaces. Both *The Qveenies Arcadia* and *Hymens Trivmph* (1615) celebrate local separateness and liberty from central rule. Daniel refers to Pan only in passing and relates him to the classical satyr traits such as lechery and greed. Arcadia is separated from the nearby city and court by an impenetrable wall or mountain range and in the course of the plays, Arcadia is purged from corrupting courtly influences. Arcadia, Daniel seems to suggest, is only ideal when detached from the urban court.

¹⁰⁸ Bliss, pp. 304-305.

the central position of the court. Instead, he produces an Arcadian green space in the margins from where the protagonists criticise and establish a spatial alternative to the customs and politics of the court.

Fletcher's deployment of the satyr is the touchstone for the extent to which he represents Arcadia as localised and freed from Pan's rigorous rule. Indeed, Fletcher re-casts the satyr into a new role in order to transfer Arcadia into the political peripheries. Thomas North's 1579 translation of *Plutarch's Lives* was popular in early modern England, providing Shakespeare with material for *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra* (c.1606-1608). Plutarch records an intriguing episode from the life of Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138 B.C.E. – 78 B.C.E.), a Roman general and statesman. In 83 B.C.E., when Sulla's army was preparing to sail from Greece to Italy, the general made a curious discovery in a nymphaeum near Apollonia:

and it is sayd there was a Satyre taken sleeping, euen in the very selfe same forme the painters and image grauers haue set him out. He was brought vnto *Sylla*, and being asked by all sorts of interpreters what he was, he made no aunswere that a man could vnderstand: but only put forth a sharpe voyce like the neying of a horse, or whynnnyng of a goate. *Sylla* wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. (XX2r)¹⁰⁹

Edward Topsell recounts an incident which is similar to that of Plutarch.

Satyrs are very seldome seene, and taken with great difficulty, as is before saide: for there were two of those found in the woods of *Saxony* towards *Dica*, in a desart, the female was killed by the darts of the hunters, and the biting of Dogs, but the male was taken aliue, being the vpper parts like a man, and in the neather parts like a Goat[.] (C2r)

So far, the reports are similar. A satyr is found in an abandoned, wild space; both narrators describe the creature's wild und inhuman behavioural characteristics and in both instances the satyr is subjected to scientific enquiry. However, whereas Sulla was frightened, if not disgusted, by the creature's inhuman and untamed appearance, Topsell's captors take on a different approach towards the rural inhabitant:

¹⁰⁹ *The Lives Of The Noble Grecians And Romanes*, ed. by Thomas North (London: 1579).

[H]e was brought to be tame, and learned to go vpright, and also to speak some words, but with a voice like a Goat, and without all reason[.] (C2r).

In Topsell's anecdote, the satyr is tamed and brought under human control. However, in *The Faithful Shepherdess* the satyr willingly submits himself and his offerings to Clorin, who is surprised by this submission: 'Else why should this rough thing, who never knew | Manners, nor smooth humanitie, whose heates | Are rougher than himself, and more mishapen, | Thus mildely kneele to me?' (I.i.121-124). By the end of the play, Clorin realises that she was wrong in her initial assessment:

CLORIN *Satyre*: they wrong thee, that doe tearme thee rude:
 Though thou beest outward rough and tawny hued,
 Thy manners are as gentle and as fayre
 As his who bragges himself, borne only heyre,
 To all Humanity. (IV.ii.62-66)

The satyrs in Plutarch and Topsell are metonymic for wild and untamed nature, but in Topsell's case the wilderness is domesticated. Fletcher's satyr shares parallels with Dürer's satyrs and the wilderness the creature represents is tamed in the course of the play. Pan, however, is conceptually different from Fletcher's common satyr. Instead, Pan resembles Silvanus in Euripides' *Kyklōps*. Essentially, Fletcher reverses the roles of his satyrs. In the tragicomedy, Pan is violent and lecherous and the common satyr is benevolent and docile. Arcadia's detachment from Pan's court, the play suggests, is justified because the Jacobean court is untamed and lecherous, while Clorin's Arcadian periphery is steadfast and morally uncontaminated. By displaying the satyr's docile and human side, and by willingly subjecting himself to Clorin's local government, Fletcher chooses a different political statement than that of Leicester's pageant at Kenilworth. In 1575, the satyrs bowed down in reverence to Elizabeth, offering their services and local topographical knowledge to the queen. By bowing down to an emphatically local goddess, Fletcher situates Arcadia firmly in the margins. The challenges to a hegemonic Jacobean society, rooted in the nation's wilder landscapes, bow to a local representatives and sideline the monarch and his supposedly hypocritical court. By way of the satyr, the idea of a perfect countryside is imagined as disparate, decentralised and immune to intervention in *The Faithful Shepherdess*. Nature is indeed tamed and made surveyable – but, contrary to Topsell's anecdote,

only for the locals. Arcadia provides the Spenserians with an ideologically sheltered refuge from official condemnation.

**V. RE-IMAGINING THE SATYR'S GREEN SPACE IN THE WAKE OF *THE FAITHFUL SHEPHERDESS*:
*OBERON, THE WINTER'S TALE AND THE TEMPEST***

In my discussion of *Poly-Olbion* and *The Faithful Shepherdess*, I have demonstrated how Drayton and Fletcher produce autonomous and local Arcadias at the expense of James' panoptic influence. Furthermore, Fletcher domesticates the perceived wilderness by having the satyr bow in loyalty not to Pan, but to a local deity. As I now demonstrate, Fletcher's satyr had a significant impact on the staging of satyrs in the years following 1609, a development that would culminate over a decade later with *Off Jacke and Tom*. In *Oberon, The Fairy Prince* (1611), Jonson responded to Fletcher's re-imagining of the satyr, re-positioning the Arcadian landscape in close proximity to the court. 1611 also saw the production of two pastoral plays by William Shakespeare which featured satyrs and elaborated on the contested symbolic geography of ideal Arcadian green spaces.

Two years after the publication of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, Jonson inverted Fletcher's topological 'satyric' space in the margins. In *Oberon*, a masque performed for Prince Henry at Whitehall Palace, satyrs inhabit a 'scene appeared all obscure, and nothing perceived but a dark rock with trees beyond it and all wilderness that could be presented'.¹¹⁰ The satyr's landscape is portrayed as barren, wild and, most importantly, unsurveyable – it is the ideal nesting ground for disparate peripheral ideologies. Unlike Fletcher's satyr, however, Jonson's satyrs acknowledge the courtly authority of the Fairy Prince. Although some members of the gang still prefer to assault nymphs, Silenus, their leader, calls them back to eulogise the royal son:

SILENUS Satyrs, he doth fill with grace
Every season, every place;
Beauty dwells but in his face:
He's the height of all our race.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ *Oberon, The Fairy Prince*, in *Ben Jonson: the complete masques*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 159-173 (p. 159).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Consequently, they prepare for Prince Henry's arrival, and when the big moment arrives they dance joyfully. Silenus sets Henry up to succeed his father, James I, on the throne as the new Pan, who orders the frame of things and rules over England's seemingly empty and dissentious green space.

SILENUS

For this indeed is he,
My boys, whom you must quake at when you see.
[...]
He is the god o'er kings,
[...]
He makes it ever day, and quickens every thing,
Like a new nature: so that true to call
Him, by his title, is to say, He's all.¹¹²

The satyrs wait for the arrival of the royal family in front of the 'glorious palace whose gates and walls were transparent.'¹¹³ When the future Pan finally emerges, Silenus commands that '[e]very satyr bow his head.'¹¹⁴ This command echoes the royal processions to Kenilworth and Bisham, where the wild satyrs happily incorporated themselves and their wild habitat into Elizabeth's landscape. Similarly, Jonson's masque reclaims the Arcadian space it lost to Fletcher's tragicomedy. Instead of submitting itself to local representatives and thereby distancing the countryside from Pan's court, Jonson's rural satyrs bow down to the central satyr ruler, or the benevolent 'god o'er kings.' Jonson re-positions the satyrs' Arcadia within a homogeneous political landscape devoted entirely to the Stuart dynasty.

Thomas Goffe's late Jacobean pastoral play *The Careless Shepherdess* (1618-1629) similarly imagines a homogeneous landscape subservient to Pan and his ordered court. The prologue asks the audience to imagine itself not in a remote and decentralised Arcadia, but to 'think of your selves in *Salisbury Plain*' (C1v).¹¹⁵ Furthermore, Goffe's Arcadian green space is subservient to the king. In a symbolically anthropomorphic manner, nature bows down to King James, not unlike the satyrs in Elizabeth's procession and Jonson's masque.

Oft hath your Courts the Forrests guilded o're,
Making that glorious which was rude before.
You having greater power than *Orpheus*, now

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 169-170.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 163.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 167.

¹¹⁵ T[homas] G[offe], *The Careles Shepherdess* (London: 1656).

Draw woods unto your Court each tree doth bow,
And homage pay: O may all Forrests be
As loyall to your Majesty, as we. (C2r)

Arcadia is drawn into the court and, as in *Pan's Anniversary* and *Off Jacke and Tom*, Pan represents what Bacon called the 'universal frame' in *The Careless Shepherdess*: 'for *Pan* doth keep | From harm our scattering sheep: | And hath deserved | For to be served' (D4v). As Goffe's and Jonson's entertainments demonstrate, the regional and peripheral Arcadias of Drayton and Fletcher were by no means the only mode of pastoral spatial production in London's artistic environment. The geography of the Arcadian ideal was part of a contested debate. Whilst oppositional playwrights positioned Arcadia in the margins where it was freed from the influence of the court, James and his adherents strove to re-position Arcadian green space within the homogeneous geography of the court and its authority. I will now demonstrate the ways in which two plays performed around 1611 responded to the polyphonic instability of the satyr and his layered homeomorphic habitat. Contrary to Jonson or the Spenserians, Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* do not strive to reposition the satyr's Arcadia in one way or the other. Instead, the plays pack overlaying and irreconcilable imaginings of Arcadia into a single spatial representation. The plays draw attention to the conflicting spatial versions and concomitant politics of competing interest groups which are negotiated through the contested geography of idealised Arcadian green space on the early modern stage.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare refers to Jonson's satyrs. During the sheep-shearing feast, a servant introduces a gang of satyrs.

SERVANT Master, there is three carters, three shepherds, three
neatherds, three swineherds that have made themselves
all men of hair. They call themselves saultiers, and they
have a dance which the wenches say is a gallimaufry of
gambols, because they are not in't. But they themselves
are o'th' mind, if it be not too rough for some that know
little but bowling, it will please plentifully.
[...]
One three of them, by their own report, sir, hath danced
before the king, and not the worst of the three but jumps
twelve foot and a half by the square. (IV.iv.329-336, 342-
344)

Juan Christian Pellicer has suggested that four actors who had played satyrs in *Oberon* reprised their dance in Shakespeare's play for the public theatre.¹¹⁶ However, Shakespeare's satyrs do not restore the countryside to the court as was the case in Jonson's *Oberon*; instead, conflicting spaces are overlaid. I demonstrate in Chapter One that Shakespeare displayed an awareness for sedimented pastoral modes of spatial production and counter-production in *As You Like It*. The exchange between Touchstone and Corin exemplifies this. Whilst Corin describes a hardworking Protestant pastoral space, 'Sir, I am a true labourer' (III.ii.70), Touchstone conjures up an anti-pastoral vision, privileging the court over the countryside.¹¹⁷ The court, for Touchstone, is a site of sophistication: 'Why if thou never wast at court thou never sawst good manners; if thou never sawst good manner then thy manners must be wicked, and wickedness is sin and sin is damnation' (III.ii.38-42). Two irreconcilable, but interrelated versions of rural space overlap and co-exist in a single play, demonstrating the multivocal layers of green space on the early modern stage. Similarly, as I will now demonstrate, *The Winter's Tale* produces three conflicting Arcadias, all of which are geographically positioned in different places and reflect on contrasting pastoral spaces and competing policies of representing green space on the early modern stage.

Leontes and Polixenes imagine an Arcadian ideal which is filled with courtly Stuart signifiers:

POLIXENES We were as twinned lambs that did frisk i'th'sun
 And bleat the one at th'other; what we changed
 Was innocence for innocence; we knew not
 The doctrine of ill-doing, nor dreamed
 That any did. (I.ii.67-74)¹¹⁸

The kings' pastoral Arcadia, an Edenic *hortus conclusus*, is an intrinsically courtly space.¹¹⁹ Locked away from ill influences, it anticipates the centralised Arcadia

¹¹⁶ Juan Christian Pellicer, 'Shakespeare's "saltiers"/satyrs in *The Winter's Tale* and Virgil's *Saltantis Satyros*', *Notes and Queries*, 54 (2007), pp. 303-304. See also John Pitcher, 'Introduction', in *The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Methuen, 2010), pp. 1-137, 349-452 (pp. 394-395).

¹¹⁷ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Juliet Dusinberre (London: Methuen, 2006).

¹¹⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by John Pitcher (London: Methuen, 2010).

¹¹⁹ Peter Lindenbaum, 'Time, sexual love, and the uses of pastoral in *The Winter's Tale*', in *The Winter's Tale: critical essays*, ed. by Maurice Hunt (New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 200-220 (p. 206).

which James would vocalise in 1623. The ideal green space is incorporated into the central court and firmly under royal authority. In James' *Off Jacke and Tom*, 'the Lambes [...] playe [and] the Ewes [...] breede' in a similar fashion to Leontes' and Polixenes' innocent and idle games in a secure pastoral environment. This Arcadian version represents a courtly ideal; it is in close proximity to the court and filled by courtiers and future kings. Like a manicured Mannerist garden space it can be surveyed and it is devoid of subversive signs, or any 'doctrine of ill-doing'. The kings' Arcadia is a homogeneous space incorporating a wider Sicilian and Bohemian realm. The kings' Arcadian fantasy excludes, even brushes aside, any potentially negative or subversive external influences which might disrupt the royal understanding of rural peace and perfection.

The play then moves on to a harsh and barren version of green space. Antigonus arrives on the 'deserts of Bohemia' where nature, in the form of storms and bears, takes its human toll (III.iii.2). The fictitious coastal region of Bohemia represents the type of green space which caused unease in early modern England. It is 'remote enough' from the road or river network and its unmappable wilderness cannot be surveyed (III.iii.30). Hidden violence characterises this empty space which is described by the Mariner to be 'famous of the creatures | Of prey that keep upon't' (III.iii.11-12). This is the kind of peripheral, untamed and deserted space which Topsell imagined to be the home of wild, dangerous and lecherous satyrs.

Finally, the plot takes its audience to Perdita's Bohemian pastoral Arcadia. Perdita's version of green space differs from the pervious versions of green space Shakespeare staged in *The Winter's Tale*. Tigner has argued that Perdita, in her adopted role as the goddess Flora, gestures towards an ideal past, while offering guidance for the future: 'in the play Perdita is a reminder of the corrupt state that sent her in exile from her home and her station, yet she is the hope for everyone's salvation.'¹²⁰ The Bohemian Arcadia is spatially detached from either Leontes' or Polixenes' court and, as Tigner suggests, offers a purified version of Arcadia which is positioned in the margins. Bohemia's Arcadian green space represents an alternative to the corruptions of both Sicilia's and Bohemia's court. Most importantly, the space is under the governance of 'Dame Flora', a folkloric

¹²⁰ Amy Tigner, 'The Winter's Tale: gardens and the marvels of transformation', *English Literary Renaissance*, 36.1 (2006), pp. 114-134 (p. 121).

personification who already gestured at local rule in Elizabeth's procession in Kenilworth in 1575 (IV.iv.2). In her role as Flora, Perdita lives in symbiosis with nature.¹²¹ She organises the 'meeting of the petty gods, | And [Perdita is] the queen on't' (IV.iv.4-5). Indeed, Perdita and Clorin, the protagonist in Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess*, have a lot in common: both represent local queens or deities of an independent green realm. The decentralisation of the Bohemian Arcadia in *The Winter's Tale* is achieved by disallowing the courtiers, whether from the Sicilian or Bohemian court, to have an impact on Arcadia's rural politics. Leontes and Polixenes play an overtly passive role; as soon as they enter Flora's green space, the kings play a role similar to that of Pan in *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *Poly-Olbion*. As Jennifer Munroe put it, '[t]he shepherds, not the nobility, rule, and the nature these more modest folk interact with, sheep and the pasture they graze, evoke early modern English debates about how it might be used.'¹²² In this instance, Shakespeare follows the Spenserian example of producing a decentralised and independent landscape around a local independent ruler. He even goes a step further by expelling all court representatives out of its realm. In the end, Perdita, contrary to Clorin, is of the court, and she never quite sheds off that persona; Polixenes notes that she '[b]ut smacks of something greater then herself, | Too noble for this place' (IV.iv.158-9). The courtiers, together with Perdita's *nouveau riche* adoptive parents, leave the sheep-shearing feast at the end of the scene and return to the Sicilian court. Shakespeare hands agency back to the genuine Arcadian 'petty gods' and the shepherds. Rural Bohemia's independence and distance from both the Sicilian and the Bohemian court is emphasised. The play stages a spatial resettlement; as in *As You Like It*, most characters move back to where they came from, handing back agency to the local residents and deities. Polixenes commands the courtiers to '[f]ollow us to the court', crucially adding that the Arcadian ideal space will close its 'rural latches' to the courtiers behind them (IV.iv.437, 443). The play's Bohemian Arcadia, an alternative version of an English Arcadia, is detached and independent from both city and court; as in *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *Poly-Olbion*, local rural government is devolved and the space is

¹²¹ Jennifer Munroe, "'It's all about the gillyvors": engendering art and nature in *The Winter's Tale*", in *Ecocritical Shakespeare*, ed. by Lynne Bruckner and Dan Brayton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 139-154 (pp. 151-152).

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

imagined as firmly in the margins under the independent supervision of Arcadia's own independent 'petty gods'.

The satyrs at the sheep-shearing feast offer a touchstone for the manner in which the play imagines all three pastoral Arcadias. In contrast to the satyrs in the plays and entertainments discussed previously in this chapter, Shakespeare's satyrs are emphatically unreal. The servant does not try to hide the fact that they are disguised dancers. Shortly before the satyrs enter the scene, Perdita debates with Polixenes about whether art improves nature, or whether 'art itself is Nature' (IV.iv.97). Munroe has observed that 'Perdita's superior social position is demonstrated not by her assertion of authority over [nature] but rather in the way her horticultural art represents rather than alters nature.'¹²³ I would claim that Perdita's 'rustic garden' of flowers is an attempt to bring order into the chaos of the barren and remote Bohemian landscape that the audience is initially introduced to by Antigonus (IV.iv.84). The satyrs which immediately follow that discussion illustrate the nature of Bohemia's hybrid and overlaid topology. The satyrs are no longer real. Instead, Perdita's idealised Bohemia is a 'second nature' which has distorted original 'first nature' to such an extent that even the satyrs, Topsell's 'creatures of pray', are merely dressed up locals. Virgil's original representatives of the perfect pastoral space, whether wildly lecherous or benevolent in their stewardship, are replaced in Shakespeare's play by something which merely gestures at the real thing. Similarly, all three pastoral spaces in *The Winter's Tale* are artificial and depend on subjective descriptions and ideologies. The satyrs dance for entertainment, but do not bow down to Perdita or anybody else in Bohemia. As a main playwright of the King's Men, Shakespeare knew better than to test the polyphonic 'satyric' motifs and, by implication, those of his patron James.

The Winter's Tale, I have argued, produces three interrelated but simultaneously irreconcilable homeomorphic topologies of Arcadian pastoral space. Contrary to the work of James, Jonson and the Spenserians, the play refuses to commit to one single theatrical representation of Arcadia. Instead, not unlike *As You Like It*, the play capitalises on the confusion of multiple contested versions of perfect green spaces which circulated at the time the play was composed in London's theatrical environment. The green spaces of *The Winter's Tale* cannot be

¹²³ Ibid., p. 151.

reduced to a holistic meaning or single perception, but instead, negotiate the impossibility of producing an ideologically pure Arcadian green space. Rather, the production of Arcadian green space in *The Winter's Tale* involves competing perspectives and political visions simultaneously. The layering of a polyphonic landscape is even more apparent in *The Tempest* which was also written around the same time. By way of analysing the island's topological spatial variants, I argue that *The Tempest* offers parallels with *The Winter's Tale*. Both plays produce three different overlapping spaces which together highlight the contested theatrical representation of Arcadian green space and the competing politics these idealised spaces negotiated on the early modern stage. However, whilst the satyrs in Bohemia point towards the artificiality of theatrical green space, in *The Tempest* a satyr-like character offers a uniquely objective glimpse into the 'first nature' of his natural environment.

The notion of subjective spatial production dominates Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Satyrs, just like Caliban and the captive satyrs in *Kyklōps*, were thought to live on remote islands. Topsell wrote that '[t]he *Satyres* are in the Islands *Satiridae*, which are three in number, standing right ouer against *India* on the farther side of *Ganges*' (C1r). The 'monster' Caliban, as Robert Henke notes, evokes disgust and fear, but in fact 'remains largely human, thus functioning both as a projection of illicit desire and as the negative definition of civility.'¹²⁴ Like the satyrs in *Kyklōps*, Caliban seeks to gain his freedom with the arrival of outsiders, but, contrary to Euripides' satyrs, he fails. He remains a 'satyric' outsider throughout the play, cursing that he had ever met Prospero, Miranda and the civilisation they represent. However, Caliban paradoxically also displays the capacity to appreciate the charms of Ariel's music, a musical and poetic aptitude not evinced by any of the other courtiers.¹²⁵ Given these resemblances, I wish to suggest that Caliban represents a satyr-equivalent – he is not only a rapacious and lecherous inhabitant of his empty island, but also a humanist steward in James' and Dürer's mould.

In the course of the play, Caliban's island is produced as three overlapping dialogic Arcadian topologies. John Gillies has argued that '[t]here is little sense of realistic landscape in *The Tempest*, and landscape varies according to the mind that

¹²⁴ Henke, p. 118.

¹²⁵ Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan, 'Introduction', in *The Tempest*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series (London: Methuen, 2011), pp. 1-149 (p. 62).

perceives it.’¹²⁶ Indeed, for Adrian, the island appears to be a ‘desert [...] Uninhabitable and almost inaccessible’ (II.i.37, 40).¹²⁷ His vision of the island echoes the untamed and dangerous Bohemian coastline on which Antigonus lands in *The Winter’s Tale*. Gonzalo, by contrast, visualises the island’s topography as reflective of a new golden age, in which ‘nature should bring forth | Of its own kind all foison, all abundance, | To feed my innocent people’ (II.i.163-165). Gonzalo’s landscape finds its opposite in Polixenes’ and Leontes’ Edenic and idealised Arcadia. Gonzalo’s imagining of the island forcefully brushes aside any disruptive influences. Lastly, Ferdinand mythologises the island, believing that it is under control of ‘some god o’th’island’ (I.ii.389-390). Ferdinand’s vision of green space resembles that of Prospero, whose imagination fills the island with mythological gods and deities. In the betrothal masque, Prospero relies on Ceres, the goddess of the earth and protectress of the harvest (who also featured as a local deity at Kenilworth), and Juno, goddess of marriage, to conjure up an image of the cosmic union of Ferdinand and Miranda and the return to universal harmony.¹²⁸ However, as a by-product of this masque, Ceres comes to preside over a pastoral and arable island, transforming the previously tempestuous sea and unweeded garden, the unclaimed wilderness and pestilential fens into an ordered, controllable and surveyed agricultural landscape. Prospero’s masque pre-empts Jonson’s *Pan’s Anniversary* and refers back to *Oberon*; through his centralised perspective, Prospero imagines a controlled and contained island. Not unlike Perdita’s rustic flower garden, Prospero’s masque reintroduces not only moral, but also visual harmony into the theatrical imagining of Caliban’s island.

Alluding to how the courtiers attempt to project meaning into the island’s landscape, Sebastian and Antonio mock Gonzalo’s and Prospero’s rhetorical re-imagining and appropriation of the island’s green space:

ANTONIO	His word is more than the miraculous harp.
SEBASTIAN	He hath raised the wall, the houses too.

¹²⁶ John Gillies, ‘Shakespeare’s Virginian masque’, *English Literary History*, 53.4 (1986), pp. 673-707 (p. 702).

¹²⁷ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan (London: Methuen, 2011).

¹²⁸ Mason Vaughan/Vaughan, p. 70; see also David Norbrook, “‘What cares these roarers for the name of the King?’: language and utopia in *The Tempest*”, in *The politics of tragicomedy: Shakespeare and after*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 21-54 (p. 36).

ANTONIO What impossible matter will he make easy next?
 SEBASTIAN I think he will carry this island home in his pocket and
 give it his son for an apple.
 ANTONIO And sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more
 Islands! (II.i.87-92)

The clownish courtiers, in one of their few insightful moments, allude to the multivocal modes of spatial production in which Gonzalo and his fellow courtiers participate and to the strategic appropriation of the island according to their own competing understandings of spatial perfection.¹²⁹ Gonzalo sees the island as a Mannerist garden: 'Here's a maze trod, indeed', he exclaims (III.iii.2). Gonzalo displays the sense of order and control that he and the other courtiers, most prominently Prospero in his masque, desire.¹³⁰ Caliban's island represents a *mélange* of the three spaces I described in *The Winter's Tale*. Shakespeare's idealised green space is based on individual perceptions. The island is polyphonic in its individual production and layered with conflicting 'second natures' which admit and block out elements of reality according to the spectator's subjective mind. In that sense, the island is simultaneously all-spaces and a non-space, just like Arcadia in its early modern perception from Drayton and Fletcher to James I and Jonson.

However, Prospero's 'fancies' of universal order, which Ceres and Juno express in the masque, are followed by an antimasque featuring the unconformity of Caliban, Stephano and Trinculo, who are dressed up in outlandish attire and seek to assassinate Prospero (IV.i.122). Prospero is forced to intervene again before restoring the order he initially conjured up in his masque. However, if Caliban is representative of a subversive disorder akin to the chaos of an antimasque, the disorder he represents destabilises the courtiers' process of investing subjective idealised meanings into the island's green space. As a native of the island, Caliban's description of the environment stands apart from that of the newly arrived courtiers. Contrary to the newly arrived courtiers, he sees his green space not necessarily just as a site of either danger, control, or perfection:

¹²⁹ See also Ina Habermann, "'I shall have share in this most happy wreck': Shakespeare's topology of shipwrecking", *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 148 (2012), pp. 55-72 (p. 71). For Habermann this speech represents 'an apt visualisation of theatrical topology: the impossible matter of morphing Carthage into Tunis, the Mediterranean into the New World, time into space, through the magic of the stage.'

¹³⁰ Peggy Muñoz Simonds, "'Sweet power of music': the political magic of 'the miraculous harp' in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*", *Comparative Drama*, 29.1 (1995), pp. 61-90 (p. 84).

CALIBAN Be not afeard. This isle is full of noises,
 Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.
 Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
 Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,
 That if I then had waked after long sleep,
 Will make me sleep again[.] (III.ii.135-140)

Caliban describes the island as a topological abstraction of unimaginable strangeness and mystery; his is an island of phenomenological chaos. As a satyric outsider to human culture and as a native inhabitant of his Arcadian island space, his perception is inassimilable; even the subjective mind cannot fully fathom it. Caliban is the only character who can understand the island, resisting the attempt of the courtly European mind to mythologise, visually control it, or populate it with caretaking deities.¹³¹ As the 'satyric' satyr, the anthropomorphic symbol of wild nature, both subversive and romantic, dangerous and tameable, Caliban's imagination is the one that the audience responds to and its resonances cannot be easily overwritten or brushed aside.¹³² Even if satyrs occupied spheres of hedonism, wilderness and raucousness in the classical texts, their intense connection to the natural world rendered them potentially wiser than humans. In Virgil's *The Eclogues*, Chromis and Mnasyllus capture an old sleeping satyr in the sixth song and force him to share his knowledge about the origins of the world and creation.¹³³ In *The Tempest*, Caliban, Shakespeare's satyr-equivalent, reveals a different kind of truth. Rather than singing about the 'birth of Creation', Caliban describes an inassimilable and polyphonic natural environment which, contrary to the play's previous efforts, is probably closest to the island's disorderly and heterogeneous 'first nature.'

Both *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* explore pastoral themes which were prominent in the works of the Spenserians; however Shakespeare's plays resist narrowing down the polyphonic sets of literary motives he had inherited. Shakespeare's pastoral spaces celebrate subjective variety and scepticism to

¹³¹ Gillies, p. 700.

¹³² Ibid., p. 702.

¹³³ Virgil, *The Eclogues and The Georgics*, Oxford World's Classics, ed. by R.O.A.M. Lyne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983; repr. 2009), pp. 1-44 (pp. 25-28); surprisingly, the satyr's insights share key ideas with Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. 'He sang of Creation's birth – how seeds of earth and air, | Of water and fluent fire were brought together and married | In a vastness of empty space; how everything began | From this, and what were gases condensed to form our globe.' See also Henke, p. 109; Parr, p. 451.

human production and intervention. If Jonson, responding to Fletcher's taming of the satyr, employs the creature to relocate Arcadian green space into the courtly sphere of influence, Shakespeare in turn draws on the satyr to withdraw idealised Arcadian green spaces beyond human agency. By portraying Arcadia ambiguously and in conflicting ways, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* emphasise the instability and individuality of the irreconcilable politics underlying the sedimented and subjective production of idealised green space on the early moderns stage. Shakespeare, contrary to the Spenserians I have analysed in this chapter, does not experiment with the polyphonic nature of pastoral motifs, but with the polyphonic qualities of nature itself.

VI. CONCLUSION

By the 1620s, Arcadia, the idealised mode of rural living, had been both metaphorically shifted beyond the monarch's reach by Spenserian poets and playwrights and withdrawn from human agency altogether as in Shakespeare's dramatic pastorals. James and Jonson, as I have argued, responded to this gradual localisation by composing a poem and a masque which emphatically fashioned James as Pan and all of England as a perfect Arcadian landscape under a benevolent Stuart rule. The satyr played a key role in the theatrical representation and imagination of Arcadia. For James and Jonson, Pan became a symbolic means to reclaim the contested countryside and reposition the idealised green space under Stuart authority. Both texts rid Arcadia of its marginal status and also minimise subversive local resistance growing in the supposedly empty green space of rural England. Towards the end of his reign, James resorted to the symbolism that had already been employed during processions in the reign of his predecessor. Like the pageant that entertained Elizabeth in Kenilworth, *Off Jacke and Tom* and *Pan's Anniversary* attempted to produce a definitive version of the countryside. However, for dissenting playwrights the satyr was a polyphonic symbol of a 'satyric' outsider who commented on the court's customs and politics from a sheltered and peripheral Arcadia, offering an alternative non-Jacobean idealised green space in the margins. Overall, the collective production of Arcadian green spaces was contested and irreconcilable in early modern pastoral drama and poetry. The contested staging of Arcadia and the satyr engaged in unsettled

debates on the unstable connection between court and countryside, as well as on royal succession and the politics of loyalty and dissent.

If the Spenserian and Shakespearean imagination marginalised the idea of an ideal green space, then, these early modern plays explicitly devolved Arcadia's government to local, mythologised caretakers. The literary and dramatic works I have discussed in this chapter implicitly also problematise the literary and dramatic understanding of nationhood. While James and Jonson imagined a homogenised Arcadian archipelago, *Poly-Olbion*, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* produced fragmented and broken-up territories, without specifically referring to questions of nationhood. In the next chapter, I will demonstrate how a distinct relative of the satyr enabled dramatists to engage in depth with the spatiality of nationhood. I suggest that the character of the wild man, an equally polyphonic representative of green space, expanded the concerns lingering in the theatrical representations of the satyr and Arcadia to the threats and the desires harboured in specifically untamed and peripheral Welsh green spaces.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WELSH WILD MAN: COLONISATION AND THE WESTERN PERIPHERY, 1605-1634

- “Which part of England is Wales?”¹

The wild man, a folkloric character akin to Robin Hood and the satyr, populated empty green spaces in both the medieval and the early modern imagination.²



Figure 6: *Valentine and Orson* (London: 1637), A1v.

¹ Martin Alioth, *Warum die Menschen in Wales so anders sind* [Podcast], SRF – Schweizer Radio und Fernsehen, International, 16 March 2013
<<http://www.srf.ch/sendungen/international/warum-die-menschen-aus-wales-so-anders-sind>> [accessed 16 March 2013].

² Lynn Frier Kaufmann, *The noble savage: satyrs and satyr families in Renaissance art* (Epping: Bowker, 1984), pp. 29-40.



Figure 7: *Robin Hood, Will. Scadlock and Little John* (London: c.1696-1709)

Wild men, it was believed, were social outcasts inhabiting liminal rural spaces, emerging 'in the medieval period as the iconic representation of Man *sans* God and, therefore, *sans* civilisation. The Wild Man embodied the necessity of God, without whom human beings would be mere beasts.'³ As literary and artistic inventions, the character sublimated 'the preeminent phobias of medieval society – chaos, insanity, and ungodliness.'⁴ As in the woodprints for *Valentine and Orson*, or *Robin Hood, Will. Scadlock and Little John*, wild men are either naked, or covered in ivy, moss and leaves. They are ignorant of civil behaviour and lack the ability to speak.⁵ *Valentine and Orson* was a popular French prose romance, 're-printed [in English]

³ Brandon S. Centerwall, 'The name of the green man', *Folklore*, 108 (1997), pp. 25-33 (p. 28). For the connection between the wild man and the green man, see Kathleen Basford, *The green man* (Ipswich: Brewer, 1978); Lady J. Raglan, 'The "green man" in church architecture', *Folklore*, 50.1 (1939), pp. 45-57; Lorraine Kochanske Stock, 'Lords of the wildwood: the wild man, the green man, and Robin Hood', in *Robin Hood in popular culture: violence, transgression, and justice*, ed. by Thomas Hahn (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 239-249; Richard Hayman, *The green man* (Oxford: Shire, 2010); Fran Doel and Geoff Doel, *The green man in Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001).

⁴ Timothy Husband, *The wild man: medieval myth and symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), p. 5.

⁵ Centerwall, p. 28.

every few years through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', and, in all probability, even commissioned for the stage in 1598.⁶ The plot centres on two brothers who were separated at birth. While Valentine is raised at court, Orson spends his youth with bears in the forest, becoming a feared wild man. In contrast to his brother, he is raised in an environment without language, law or religion, 'like a Beast, having no knowledge of humane Society.'⁷ When captured and reunited with his brother, Orson is rehabilitated to the court and to Christianity. He learns to speak, is baptised and 'taught [...] manners how he should behave himself.'⁸ Rather than representing a divine creation, wild men embody the absence of God and civilisation in a correspondingly primitive natural environment.

Although the wild man enables explorations of the anxieties which societies projected into peripheral green spaces, their presence on stage has received little attention in early modern literary criticism. Robert Hillis Goldsmith argues that they offered audiences 'a symbolic expression of all unbridled and degenerate passion which lacks the curb of reason and restraint.'⁹ G. M. Pinciss discusses the wild man in the context of Renaissance selfhood, demonstrating that the wild man 'portrays not only man's closeness to the beast but also his distance from the animal.'¹⁰ Abigail Scherer argues that wild men represent early modern society's 'dread of disordered bodies as a threat to social order.'¹¹ None of these observations specifies a particular location, yet I wish to argue that there was one particular space with which wild men were especially associated, a location on the periphery of Britain, to the west of England. Indeed, the wild man's Welsh dimension in early modern drama and his influence on the theatres' understanding of nationhood is largely neglected. The collocation of wild men and Wales was

⁶ Helen Cooper, 'The strange history of *Valentine and Orson*', in *Tradition and transformation in medieval romance*, ed. by Rosalind Field (Rochester, NY: Brewer, 1999), pp. 153-168 (p. 167); *Henslowe's diary*, ed. by R. A. Foakes, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 93.

⁷ *Valentine And Orson* (London: 1637), p. 61.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁹ Robert Hillis Goldsmith, 'The wild man on the English stage', *The Modern Language Review*, 53.4 (1958), pp. 481-491 (p. 490).

¹⁰ G.M. Pinciss, 'The savage man in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Renaissance drama', in *The Elizabethan theatre VIII: papers given at the eighth International Conference on Elizabethan Theatre held at the University of Waterloo, Ontario, in July 1979*, ed. by G.R. Hibbard (Ontario: Meany, 1982), pp. 69-89 (p. 88).

¹¹ Abigail Scherer, 'Mucedorus' wild man: disorderly acts on the early modern stage', in *Renaissance papers*, ed. by T.H. Howard-Hill and Philip Robinson (Raleigh, NC: Camden House, 1999), pp. 55-65 (p. 65).

dramatised repeatedly in early modern entertainments, and in this chapter I will examine the dramatic representation of 'Welsh wilderness', the ways in which that supposed wilderness was incorporated into the dramatic negotiation of nationhood, and how English nationhood was undermined by it. The secluded Welsh wilderness harboured threats to Englishness but its green spaces also consolidated desirable elements which could not be discounted or dismissed. Early modern drama produced homeomorphic Welsh spaces which gesture at irreconcilable and problematic conceptualisations of nationhood on the early modern stage, particularly in the wake of the Henrician Acts of Union and the unsuccessful Jacobean reunification between Scotland and England.

Before I turn my focus on the wild man, I will consider his loci, beginning my analysis with a discussion of the Act of Union which was ratified in 1536 in order to homogenise Wales and England. I will demonstrate throughout this chapter the enduring impact this Act had on the theatrical imagining of Wales and of the politics of nationhood in subsequent decades. In the wake of James' failed reunification of England and Scotland, dramatists returned to the previous Act in order to explore the validity and frailties of English nationhood within the British archipelago. In the second section, I address *Mucedorus* (1588-1598; revised 1610) and *Henry IV, Part 1* in order to argue that the wild man and his Welsh green space were simultaneously reflective of an irretrievable ideal and of a barbaric 'otherness'. These two imaginings of Wales co-existed uneasily on the early modern stage, modifying and problematising understandings of Welshness in relation to English or British nationhood. In sections three and four, I demonstrate how *The Valiant Welshman* represented the Cambrian mountains as a pure spatial alternative to a corrupted English nation, while Peele's *Edward I* drew on the figure of a barbaric wild man in order to estrange Wales and invest Englishness with a relative civility and superiority. Milton's *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* followed Peele's paradigm, but complicated the argument by ascribing limits to the Act of Union and the concomitant homogenisation of Welsh green space. Shakespeare relies on a range of paradoxical perceptions of Wales in *Cymbeline*, as I show in section five. The play produces a British landscape which must assimilate both Englishness and Welshness. Overall, when the early modern stage represents Wales for its audiences, it seems that the green space of coloniser and colonised, of centre and periphery, collapse into each other. Peripheral wilderness encroaches

upon the ordered centre to the same extent that the centre imposes itself on the peripheral wilderness. Early modern plays invert the space the Act of Union sought to produce; instead, playwrights discussed the colonisation of Wales through the porous exchanges and flows between irreconcilable green spaces. Not unlike the idea of Arcadia which at the beginning of James' reign strengthened but also destabilised the Stuart court, the topology of Wales was a gauge of both Welsh and of unsettled English nationhood on the early modern stage.

I. 'REMOTENESS GIVETH WAY TO OPPRESSION': THE ACT OF UNION AND THE HOMOGENISATION OF WALES

Henry Tudor's victory over Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 decisively raised Wales' political profile. The Tudor bloodline was connected to Wales through Henry VII's Welsh grandfather, Owain Tudor, who was believed to be a descendant of Cadwaladr, the last British king who found refuge in Wales during the Saxon invasion. Welsh heritage allowed the Tudors to claim the thrones both of England and Wales and, eventually, to authorise the Act of Union in 1536.

Fearing that Catholicism might cling on in the Principality, Henry VIII's parliament ratified measures to fully annexe Wales. In return for 'all and singular Freedoms Liberties Rights Privileges and Laws', the Act of Union obliterated Welsh traditions, laws and language; it abolished all 'Distinction and Diversity' and civilised the 'rude and ignorant People' of Wales, absorbing them into English nationhood.¹² The Act decreed a thinly veiled abolition of Welshness.¹³ William Salesbury, a Welsh scholar, applauded the Act on the grounds that 'there shall hereafter be no difference in law.' But he also predicted that the Welsh language would become 'full of corrupt speech and well-nigh completely lost.'¹⁴ As late as 1573, Humphrey Llwyd, a Welsh cartographer, expected that Welshness would

¹² *The statutes at large, of England and of Great Britain: from Magna Carta to the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by J. Raithby, 20 vols (London: Printed by George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, printers to the King's Majesty, 1811), III., pp. 243-244. See also J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early modern Wales, c.1525-1640* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 77-81.

¹³ Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism, and memory in early modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 34; Peter Roberts, 'The English crown, the Principality of Wales, and the Council in the Marches, 1534-1641', in *The British problem, c.1534-1707: state formation in the Atlantic archipelago*, ed. by Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 118-147.

¹⁴ Quoted in Glanmor Williams, *Religion, language, and nationality in Wales: historical essays* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979), p. 132.

vanish under English assimilation: '[we] are now enriched and do imitate the Englishmen.'¹⁵ However, the enduring presence of Welsh wilderness on the English stage hints at the persistent perception of the Welsh landscape as inherently different than English green space, ascribing limits to the homogenising effort of the Act of Union. The Welsh wild man's longevity on stage, I argue throughout this chapter, somewhat paradoxically both reinforced and undermined the civil government which the Act of Union sought to implement. Early modern drama, that is, destabilised the topology of Welsh green space and complicated English understandings of nationhood.

Jean Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, first published in 1536 and translated into English by 1559, was particularly influential during James I's reign.¹⁶ Calvin argued that human intellect was blinded as a consequence of the Fall. '[M]en are in no wise superior to brute beasts, but are in many respects far more miserable. Subject, then, to many forms of wickedness, they drag out their lives in ceaseless tumult and disquiet. [...] [L]ike an animal [man] follows the inclination of his nature', but 'so depraved is his nature that he can be moved or impelled only to evil.'¹⁷ For Calvin, humans are in a state of 'persistent disorder and intemperance.'¹⁸ In other words, he sees a wild man lurking in each and every member of society. The cure for this wild man within, Calvin concludes, is religion and, pre-empting Hobbes, government.¹⁹ Political order provides an escape from 'confusion, barbarity, obstinacy, turbulence, and dissention.' To be without 'civil government' is to be inhuman and alien to civilisation, or in a state of 'outrageous barbarity'.²⁰

Distinguishing between 'civil' and 'barbarous', Calvin addressed the importance of civil law and government to a functioning human society, thus

¹⁵ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain: with selections from The History of Cambria*, ed. by Philip Schwyzer (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2011), p. 108.

¹⁶ Andrew D. Nicholls, *The Jacobean union: a reconsideration of British civil policies under the early Stuarts* (London: Greenwood, 1999), pp. 7-10; R.T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), p. 80.

¹⁷ Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, The Library of Christian Classics, ed. by John T. McNeill, trans. by Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols (London: S.C.M. Press, 1961), I, pp. 46, 286, 295.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 604.

¹⁹ Richard Ashcraft, 'Leviathan triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the politics of wild men', in *The wild man within: an image in western thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), pp. 141-181 (p. 143).

²⁰ Calvin, II, pp. 1207, 1488; *OED Online*, barbarity, n.2.a.

providing a convenient pretext on which to legitimise the colonisation of the 'rude and ignorant People' of Wales.²¹ Due to its liminal geographical position between English civility and Irish savagery, Wales 'insistently has to be shepherded into the space of civility, while constantly risking a lapse into the barbarism of its westward neighbour.'²² Wales was geographically positioned between the poles of Calvin's binary. Locating loathsome residues of older barbarisms in the periphery represented an 'othering strategy' which, as Patricia Palmer has argued, encouraged colonisation and the introduction of central civility in Ireland.²³ Wales was colonised under the same pretext; like Ireland, it was 'redefined as a recalcitrant part of the nation, an errant province to be "subdued" rather than a foreign land to be subjugated.'²⁴ The secluded and pagan Welsh wild man was believed to be in need of English civil government. If Englishness, as Palmer suggests, was defined oppositionally against uncivil Ireland, I argue that England's juxtaposition with Wales produced significant complications for the establishment of English cultural identity and that these cultural-historical complexities were debated in the period's literary, and especially dramatic, output. Due to the long and porous border Wales shared with England, Welshness was ontologically close to Englishness, but as the period's literature and drama maintains, was not as easily assimilated as the Act of Union implied. Unlike in the case of Ireland, counter-defining Englishness with Wales was achieved only through considerable effort. On the one hand, Welshness was a desirable attribute; its historiography, I will demonstrate, located nostalgic claims to an ancient heritage in the Cambrian landscape. On the other hand, Welsh barbarity was a threat to English self-understanding; its seclusion, wilderness, and potential violence was dangerously close to England. Wales, I argue, was simultaneously home to civility and to savagery, and this is reflected in the incompatible imagining and production of Welsh green space on the early modern stage. Theatres populated the Welsh landscape with wild men both savage and civil, complicating the representation of

²¹ G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Elizabethan Wales: the social scene* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1962), p. 9.

²² Kate Chedzoy, 'The civility of early modern Welsh women', in *Early modern civil discourses*, ed. by Jennifer Richards (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 162-182 (p. 168).

²³ Patricia Palmer, *Language and conquest in early modern Ireland: English Renaissance literature and Elizabethan imperial expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 15-19.

²⁴ Michael Neill, 'Broken English and broken Irish: nation, language, and the optic of power in Shakespeare's histories', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 45.1 (1994), pp. 1-32 (p. 4).

the colonial process and the composition of English nationhood on the early modern stage.

In 1605, Sir Henry Wallop, a member of the Council of the Marches, the English governing body which presided over the Principality, wrote that 'the neighbourhood of Wales and remoteness from London giveth more opportunity to disorder in these parts then elsewhere, and the same remoteness giveth way to oppression of the meaner sort.'²⁵ Wallop refers to the disorder of the Welsh, but also to the oppressive nature of English administrators in the periphery. Wallop understands the Welsh wilderness to be contagious; because of its distance from London, English administrators become as untamed as the locals. Homi Bhabha has argued that the coloniser's attempt to impose his will upon the colonised results in the images and representations that the coloniser values most highly moving out of his control, and becoming susceptible to reinvention or subversion by the colonised subject.²⁶ Equally, English administrators lose their civility and are contaminated with Welshness. Critics have highlighted the conflicting forms of national consciousness that were constructed in the literary output of the early modern period.²⁷ In the process of national construction, England's Irish, Scottish and Welsh peripheries were 'transformed into obedient and docile territories.' As a by-product of the construction of Great Britain, Andrew Hadfield argues, Wales became almost invisible.²⁸ David Baker and Willy Maley, however, have noted that the early modern nation was characterised by a 'dialogue between centres and margins.'²⁹ Baker demonstrates how the cultural assimilation of the Welsh was all but effortless, arguing that 'Welshness shades into Englishness without remaining entirely innocent'.³⁰ Indeed, as Wallop's account demonstrates, the characterisation of 'civil' and 'barbarous' was outwardly facile and tidy, but was in reality, and to the awareness of the period's playwrights, messy and ambiguous. In

²⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, of the reign of James I, 1603-1610*, ed. by Mary Anne Everett Green (London: Longman, 1857), p. 231; quoted in G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Wales in the reign of James I* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1988), p. 12.

²⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *The location of culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 114.

²⁷ Richard Helgerson, *Forms of nationhood: the Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 2.

²⁸ Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the matter of Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 1-7; Schwyzer, *Literature, nationalism, and memory*, p. 3.

²⁹ David J. Baker and Willy Maley, 'Introduction: an uncertain union', in *British identities and English Renaissance literature*, ed. by David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-8 (p. 1).

³⁰ David J. Baker, *Between nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the question of Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 46, 52.

spite of the Act of Union, Wales remained visible on the early modern stage, which in itself reversed the assimilation process the Act instituted in 1536. Welsh green spaces, as produced on the early modern stage and filled with wild men, were homeomorphic and irreconcilable, imagined to be both savage and civil, Welsh and English, a site of rejection and desire. On the early modern stage Wales would stand in not only as a role model for English nationhood, but also as a menace to English integrity. In the layered theatrical imagination, the Principality was home to the original, pure and unconquered Britons, who fled the Saxon invasion, but simultaneously also to a backward and pagan society lacking a civilised judiciary. Through staging a dialogue between the English centre and the Welsh periphery, early modern theatres looked simultaneously into the future and into the past, whilst highlighting the cultural cracks and fissures which the Act of Union and the later Jacobean reunification project opened - cracks which disturbed and reshaped the coloniser's own landscape.

II. 'THE WEAKEST WENT TO WALLE': *MUCEDORUS, 1 HENRY IV* AND POLYPHONIC WELSH WILD MEN

With a total of seventeen quartos published between 1598 and 1668, *Mucedorus* is amongst the most popular dramatic works of the period. The play features a wild man called Bremono, whose forest threatens the protagonists' integrity and locates incivility in Britain's western periphery. I wish to suggest that the play's Spanish backdrop becomes a proxy for discussing undesirable elements of English nationhood. Determined to get married in spite of parental objections, Mucedorus and Amadine flee the Aragonian court to find refuge in the nearby woods. Unknowingly, they enter the realm of Bremono, who, as 'king commander within these woods', ascribes limits to the monarch's jurisdiction; Bremono's parallel kingdom is unchecked by the 'eye of Souveraigntie' (C1v, A4r).³¹ The wild man immediately attempts to rape Amadine, but struck by her beauty, he makes her his virginal icon for worship instead. Thus, in addition to being beyond the reach of hegemonic sovereignty, Bremono's veneration of a virgin as an icon also reflects the

³¹ *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus* (London: 1610); *A contextual study and modern-spelling edition of Mucedorus*, ed. by Arvin H. Jupin (New York: Garland, 1987); Richard T. Thornberry, 'A seventeenth-century revival of *Mucedorus* in London before 1610', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 28.3 (1977), pp. 362-364; Scherer, p. 58.

period's unease about supposedly peripheral and blasphemous Hispano-Catholic attitudes.

Eventually, Mucedorus rescues Amadine and berates Bremono's conduct:

MUCEDORUS In time of yore, when men like brutish Beastes,
Did lead their liues in loathsome Celles and Woods,
And wholly gaue themselues to witless Will;
A rude vnruely rout, then man to man became,
A present prey, then Might prevailed,
The weakest went to Walles:
Right was vnknown, for Wrong was in all:
As men liued in their great out-rage,
Behold one *Orpheus* came as Poets tell,
And them from Rudenesse vnto Reason brought,
Who led by Reason, some forsook the Woods,
Instead of Caues, they built them Castles strong;
Cities and Townes were founded then:
Glad were they, they found such ease,
And in the end, they grew to perfect amitie,
Waying their former wickedness:
They tearm'd the time wherein they liued then,
A Golden Age, a goodly Golden Age.
Now, *Bremno* (for so I heare thee called)
If men which liued tofore, as thou dost now,
Wide in Wood, addicted to spoyle,
Returned were by worthy *Orpheus* means;
Let me like *Orpheus* cause thee returne
From Murther, Bloodshed, and like crueltie[.](E1v-E2r)

The speech reinvents Ovid's Golden Age. Instead of pastoral simplicity paired with Arcadian peace and abundance, Mucedorus celebrates cities and towns, justice and the law as indicators of a civil Golden Age. Despite its Spanish setting, I wish to suggest that the monologue pursues a British allegory by retelling the Saxon colonisation of Britain in the fifth century. According to William Camden, an early modern historian and chorographer, the original Celtic inhabitants of Britain were wild and untameable barbarians. Yet, the 'English-Saxons [...] mollified and civilised [the Brythonic Celts] with Religion and good Arts.'³² In *Mucedorus*, Orpheus, like the 'English-Saxons', introduced 'Reason' to the 'brutish Beastes', a pun on the original Britons' barbarity and on their alleged descent from Brutus, an exiled Roman of Trojan descent. Camden describes how the Saxons civilised land and people, while those who resisted fled to Wales. In Mucedorus' speech, Bremono's

³² William Camden, *Britain* (London: 1610), p. 110; Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English ethnicity and race in early modern drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 164.

ancestors similarly fled 'to Walles', and only some 'forsook the Woods' to embrace Orpheus' Saxon civility. The wild men who stubbornly resisted civilisation remained hidden in the peripheral and isolated forests.

Jupin edits 'Walles' as 'walls'.³³ Indeed, the proverb 'the weakest goeth to the wall' was a fairly standard expression for getting the worst out of a dispute.³⁴ In *Romeo and Juliet* (1594-1596), for example, Gregory mocks Samson's hesitation to challenge the Montagues: 'That shows thee a weak slave, for the weakest goeth to the wall' (I.i.12-13).³⁵ Jupin's editorial intervention in this particular context, however, obscures the diatribe's British dimension. The point of the speech lies in the double pun which implies that the wild men were 'brutish' – both brutes and descendants of Brutus – and that the conquerors' 'Reason' tamed the ancient Britons, or forced them to escape to 'Walles'. Indeed, 'Walles' was an orthographical variant of Wales – in John Speed's *The History of Great Britain* (1611), for instance, the Prince of Wales is the 'Prince of *Walles*'.³⁶ I argue that Bremono's wood is punningly compared to Wales. Keith Thomas has noted that the Welsh were perceived as the nearest neighbours of the natural world due to their geographical distance from the English centre. Accordingly, they were often described as wild and barbarous, lacking reason, religion, or civility in the early modern period.³⁷ At the conclusion of *Mucedorus*, Bremono is not tamed, but outwitted and beheaded. The lovers are reconciled and the king modifies the law to accommodate his daughter's marriage. The law and the court are upheld as the paradigm of civilisation and assimilate Bremono's forest to the new courtly Golden Age.

The prologue to the expanded 1610 quarto of *Mucedorus* celebrates James I and reveals the play's political agenda:

And as the night's inferiour to the day,
So be all earthly Regions, to your sway.

³³ Jupin, p. 128n.

³⁴ Robert William Dent, *Proverbial language in English drama exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616: an index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 720; Robert William Dent, *Shakespeare's proverbial language: an index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 245. See also the play of the same name, *The Weakest goeth to the Wall* (London: 1600).

³⁵ William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by René Weis (London: Methuen, 2013).

³⁶ John Speed, *The History Of Great Britaine* (London: [1611]), p. 420.

³⁷ Keith Thomas, *Man and the natural world: changing attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1984), pp. 94, 195.

Be as the Sunne to Day, the Day to Night;
For, from your Beames, *Europe* shall borrow light. (A2r)

James is asked to send his light into all the dark 'earthly Regions', introducing civility to those in need of it. On one level, the play addresses Spanish idolatry. Bernheimer argues that the wild man 'implied everything that eluded Christian norms and the established framework of Christian society, referring to what was uncanny, unruly, raw, unpredictable, foreign, uncultured, and uncultivated.'³⁸ James' military passivity was a controversial policy, particularly with regard to Catholic Spain. The prologue encourages the monarch to pursue a more active approach towards civilising the supposedly unenlightened Spaniards. At the same time, foreignness is a lot closer to the court. The play equally urges James to send his beams of civilisation to 'Walles', where residual wild men were believed to populate an inaccessible landscape, threatening the moral and legal unity of the kingdom. Aragon and Wales are indistinguishable in the context of *Mucedorus*. The protagonists eventually overcome Bremono, restoring civility, royal order and unity to a disparate kingdom. The play encourages James to reinforce the Act of Union, that is, to homogenise Wales with English order and civilisation, to enlighten, assimilate and civilise the wild and impenetrable Welsh green spaces.

Indeed, Wales was thought to be the most lawless and uncivil part of early modern Britain. The Welsh landscape was considered unruly and difficult to navigate; there was a 'feeling that Wales is somewhere not fully known.'³⁹ I mentioned in the introduction how John Norden expresses a fantasy of surveying the entire countryside in *An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers*. However, when describing Wales he felt compelled to add a disclaimer to his measurements.

It is to be considered that by reason of the multitude of Hills, Mountaines and Dales, and the bending of the Sea, betweene *St. Davids* and the point neere *Bradsy* Iland, causing passages and highwayes in many places so to curue and crooke, that the distances betweene the Townes, may be something differing from this Table[.] (L4v-M1r)⁴⁰

³⁸ Richard Bernheimer, *Wild men in the Middle Ages: a study in art, sentiment, and demonology* (New York, Octagon, 1970), p. 19.

³⁹ Lisa Hopkins, 'Cymbeline, the translatio imperii, and the matter of Britain', in *Shakespeare and Wales: from the marches to the assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 143-155 (p. 145). See also Philip Schwyzer, 'A map of greater Cambria', in *Literature, mapping, and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35-44.

⁴⁰ John Norden, *England: An Intended Guyde, For English Travailers* (London: 1625).

Such a site-specific disclaimer accompanies no description of an English territory. In contrast to more measurable topographies, Welsh hills, mountains, and crooked passages defy the ordered landscape Norden had hoped to measure. Camden was equally in awe of the wild and rough landscape of Merionethshire.

As for the in-land part, it so riseth with mountaines standing one by another in plumps that, as *Giraldus* saith, *it is the roughest and most unpleasant County to see to, in al Wales. For, it hath in it mountaines of wonderful height, yet narrow and passing sharpe at the top in manner of a needle, and whose verily not scattering, here and there, one, but standing very thicke together*[.]⁴¹

Camden describes a dense mountainscape and, in search of a similar geological phenomenon, Camden suggests to ‘terme these mountaines, the British *Alpes*.’⁴² Perhaps because of its unsurveyable and impenetrable topography, Wales was ‘a powerbase for challengers to the crown’; the Essex Rebellion, the Bye Plot and the Gunpowder Plot all had Welsh origins.⁴³ Bremono’s death reintroduces civilisation and law into his subversive Hispano-Cambrian woods. *Mucedorus* celebrates English identity, asking James to ‘borrow light’, or to send English ‘Beames’ of civilisation into both the dark Welsh and the Aragonian wildernesses. As Hayden White argues, the ‘notion of “wildness” (or in its Latinate form, “savagery”) belongs to a set of culturally self-authenticating devices’.⁴⁴ The comedy’s broadly populist engagement with English nationhood and European politics offers one explanation for its enduring popularity with early modern English audiences. In effect, *Mucedorus* authenticates and celebrates Englishness.

However, not all dramatic works of the period were as uncritical about Englishness and the taming of Welsh landscapes as *Mucedorus*. The wild man did not necessarily have to be savage. Indeed, early modern theatres produced homeomorphic topologies of Wales. Drama invested meaning into the unruly

⁴¹ Camden, p. 665. In Chapter One, I discuss how both *A Iest* and *As You Like It* use the term ‘in-land’ to describe Robin Hood’s space – a space which resists the court’s hegemony. Camden’s Wales is similarly impenetrable and emphatically resistant of English order.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 667.

⁴³ Willy Maley, ‘“Let a Welsh correction teach you a good English condition”: Shakespeare, Wales, and the critics’, in *Shakespeare and Wales: from the marches to the assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 177-189 (p. 184).

⁴⁴ Hayden White, ‘The forms of wilderness: archaeology of an idea’, in *The wild man within: an image of western thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), pp. 3-38 (p. 4).

Welsh green spaces with a range of different types of wild men. Not unlike the satyr, who developed into an emblem of divine paternity, the wild man's signification was equally underscored by an inherent dualism; the myth shifted and adapted itself to the changing fabric of his world.⁴⁵ Hans Sachs and Michel de Montaigne, I now demonstrate, described a different type of wild man, one who would be also taken up by early modern theatres and projected onto the isolated mountainscape of Wales. This alternative wild man offers a different vantage point on the debates about the Welsh landscape's relationship to English nationhood.



Figure 8: Hans Sachs, *Klag der wilden holzleut vber die vngetrewen Welt*, woodcut by Hans Schaufelin (Nuremberg: Hans Gildenmundt, 1545), The British Museum, London. © Trustees of the British Museum

In twelfth-century continental European folklore, wild men came to symbolise a remnant of a lost era.⁴⁶ On the one hand, the wild man represented the anxieties and phobias of an adjacent civilised culture as in *Mucedorus* or *Valentine and Orson*. On the other hand, the concept of the wild man developed into a form of social criticism. 'Although the wild man was not necessarily a superior man, his closeness to nature rendered him immune to the ills of civilization and his existence could therefore be considered ideal.'⁴⁷ White argues that the 'Wild Man

⁴⁵ Oleh Mazur, *The wild man in the Spanish Renaissance & golden age theatre: a comparative study including the indio, the bárbaro, and their counterparts in European lores* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International for Villanova University, 1980), p. 37.

⁴⁶ Bernheimer, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁷ Husband, p. 15.

was being distanced, put off in places sufficiently obscure to allow him to appear as whatever thinkers wanted to make out of him, while still locating him in some places beyond the confines of civilization.’⁴⁸ In Hans Sachs’ poem *Klag der wilden holzleüt* (1545), a family of wild men, illustrated by Hans Schäufelin, lament the extent to which the corrupting influence of money and legal fraudulence has spoilt society.⁴⁹ Montaigne’s essay *Of the Caniballes*, a text well known in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes the wild men of the New World as yet uncorrupted by money and legal abuse:

Those peoples, then, [...] have not trade of any kind, no acquaintance with writing, no knowledge of numbers, no terms for governor or political superior, no practice of subordination or of riches or poverty[.]’⁵⁰

Montaigne explains that wild men are a reflection of a culture’s anxieties: ‘there is nothing savage or barbarous about those peoples, but that every man calls barbarous anything he is not accustomed to’.⁵¹ Both authors, Roger Bartra suggests, draw on the wild man to bring humanity closer to original sources of virtue and truth, in contrast to the savage wild men of Bremono’s mould.⁵² I argue that early modern drama populated the isolated Welsh green spaces with polyphonic wild men, which signified both something dangerous and a lost ideal. Playwrights produced the Principality as a layered space, simultaneously noble and barbarous, both a role model for and an antagonist of English nationhood. Shakespeare’s *Henry IV, Part 1* exemplifies the homeomorphic imagination of Welsh green space on the early modern stage and the effect it had on the theatres’ multivocal negotiation of English nationhood.

The fifteenth-century uprising of Owain Glyn Dŵr, as Davies notes, was essentially an anti-colonial rebellion.⁵³ Glyn Dŵr’s knowledge of the Welsh terrain, ‘lurking in the woddies, mountaintops and marches’, gave his military ambitions a head start; ‘the uprooting of Owain’s power in the mountains and in central Wales

⁴⁸ White, p. 29.

⁴⁹ Hans Sachs, *Klag der wilden holzleüt, vber die vngetrewen Welt* (Nuremberg: 1545). For Fred A. Childs’ English translation, see Husband, pp. 202-204.

⁵⁰ Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, ed. and trans. by M.A. Screech (London: Penguin, 1987; repr. 2003), pp. 232-233.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁵² Roger Bartra, *Wild men in the looking glass: the mythic origins of European otherness*, trans. by Carl T. Berrisford (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 174.

⁵³ R.R. Davies, ‘Colonial Wales’, *Past & Present*, 65 (1974), pp. 3-23 (p. 23).

was a difficult task.’⁵⁴ In Welsh legend, Glyn Dŵr was ‘repeatedly associated with caves’ and with decapitating his enemies.⁵⁵ At Radnor Castle alone, he allegedly beheaded sixty soldiers.⁵⁶ Decapitation was a defining feature of Welsh wild men, as will become clear in my discussion of Speed’s *The Historie Of Great Britaine* and Shakespeare’s *Cymbeline*.⁵⁷ In *Mucedorus*, Bremono decapitates bears and humans who intrude into his woods. He proudly presents a bear’s head to Amadine: ‘Asure your selfe thereof, behold his head’ (B1r). In other words, Glyn Dŵr’s revolt was believed to be that of a violent Welsh wild man. Early on in Shakespeare’s dramatisation of the events surrounding the rebellion, Westmorland describes instances of Welsh barbarity.

WESTMORLAND [Mortimer] Was by the rude hands of that
Welshman taken,
A thousand of his people butchered,
Upon whose dead corpse there was such
misuse,
Such beastly shameless transformation,
By those Welshwomen done, as may not be
Without much shame spoken of. (I.i.38-46)⁵⁸

As Palmer observes, the Welshmen’s rude hands ‘brought with [them] connotations of something shapeless and needing to be formed’.⁵⁹ Westmorland depicts the Welsh as uncivilised wild men and wild women, akin to Bremono. In this initial scene, the play suggests that Wales is in need of English civilisation, that the Welsh need to be tamed and formed into civility by Henry IV’s English court.

However, Shakespeare draws on both sides of the paradoxical conception of wild men, producing Welshness both as a threat and as desirable. While the Welsh

⁵⁴ Holinshed’s *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 6 vols (London: J. Jonson, 1807), III., p. 25; John Davies, *A history of Wales*, revised edition (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 197.

⁵⁵ Elissa R. Henken, *National redeemer: Owain Glyndŵr in Welsh tradition* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), p. 75.

⁵⁶ R.R. Davies, *The revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 333.

⁵⁷ Husband, pp. 3, 21; Bernheimer, p. 11.

⁵⁸ William Shakespeare, *King Henry IV, Part 1*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by David Scott Kastan (London: Thomson Learning, 2006). These ‘barbarous’ acts include physical mutilations, described in Abraham Fleming’s additions to Holinshed’s *Chronicles*, III., p. 34. For how these mutilations correspond with the ‘othering’ of Wales, see Chedgozy, p. 170. Howard and Rackin argue that Wales was the scene of ‘emasculatation and female power – and also of a repression in the English historical narrative.’ Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a nation: a feminist account of Shakespeare’s English histories* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 169.

⁵⁹ Patricia Palmer, *Shakespeare from the margins: language, culture, context* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 84.

soldiers need to be civilised, Glendower and his daughter also embody hospitality and civilised culture.⁶⁰ Andrew Murphy argued that Glendower mediates between the Welsh periphery and the English centre.⁶¹ The outlaw is simultaneously the leader of an uncivil group of barbarous soldiers and ‘a wonderful gentleman, | Exceedingly well read’ (III.i.161-162). David Baker demonstrates that the play merges conflicting and heterogeneous ‘social memories’ of the outlaw.⁶² Indeed, *1 Henry IV*’s Wales is a role model for Henry’s English court in terms of hospitality and civility, particularly when compared to Hotspur and, at least initially, to Hal, but it is also in need of English colonisation.⁶³ In contrast to *Mucedorus*’ celebration of Englishness, *1 Henry IV* produces competing Welsh topologies which problematise and invert understandings of English civility and nationhood.

In this chapter, I discuss the contested manner in which early modern drama imagined the Welsh landscape on stage and the impact competing representations of Welsh green spaces had on theatres’ engagements with Jacobean discourses of nationhood.⁶⁴ On the one hand, the ‘British *Alpes*’ separated the Principality from English civility and the English judiciary, but the mountains also represented beacons of guidance and moral purity for England. Theatres produced the Welsh mountainscape as a peripheral space of purity to which the English centre could quite literally look up. Early modern drama mapped Welsh ambiguities into the sedimented topologies of the Principality.⁶⁵ I argue that the theatrical

⁶⁰ Leslie C. Dunn, “‘The lady sings in Welsh’: Women’s song as marginal discourse on the Shakespearean stage”, in *Place and displacement in the Renaissance*, ed. by Alvin Vos (Binghampton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1995), pp. 51-67 (pp. 58, 63). See also Huw Griffiths, “‘O, I am ignorance itself in this!’: listening to Welsh in Shakespeare and Armin”, in *Shakespeare and Wales: from the marches to the assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 111-126 (pp. 122-125).

⁶¹ Andrew Murphy, ‘Shakespeare’s Irish history’, *Literature and History*, 5 (1996), pp. 38-59 (pp. 48-49).

⁶² David J. Baker, ‘Glyn Dwr, Glendouer, Glendourdy, and Glendower’, in *Shakespeare and Wales: from the marches to the assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 43-57 (p. 48).

⁶³ Ironically, after his military defeat, the historical Glyn Dŵr became a wild man again: ‘The Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer [...] fled into desert places and solitarie caves’ where he ‘for méere hunger and lacke of food, miserablie pined awaie and died.’ *Holinshed’s Chronicles*, III., p. 48.

⁶⁴ For a comprehensive list of early modern Welsh stage characters, see James O. Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin, and Sawney: being a historical study of the earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish characters in English plays* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1954), pp. 48-77.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of historiographical Welsh ambiguities, see Grace Jones, ‘Early modern Welsh nationalism and British history’, in *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 21-38 (p. 25).

representation of Welsh green spaces explored and inverted the spatiality of nationhood which the Act of Union had sought to produce by homogenising England and Wales.

III. 'TRIUMPHS SHALL CROWN THE GLORIOUS BROW OF WALES': GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH, *THE VALIANT WELSHMAN* AND THE CRITIQUE OF ENGLISHNESS

Roy Strong has described the Welsh borderlands as 'dotted with castles', 'rugged and undulating, its soil an unforgettable tincture of red.'⁶⁶ Such nostalgic descriptions of the Welsh countryside, Prys Morgan claims, became widespread in response to the gradual industrialisation of the English landscape. Romantic sentiments fashioned Wales as a rural alternative to its more heavily industrialised neighbour and one of the last remaining havens of natural purity.⁶⁷ Morgan argues that the romantic view of Wales emerged after 1800, one that foregrounded nostalgia for an earlier, purer landscape; however, I wish to suggest that in the early modern period Wales was already a representational space of nostalgic yearning, offering England homeomorphic alternatives to its current policies and self-conception of nationhood. In this context, early modern drama populated the Welsh wilderness with wild men who fashion the Principality as a retrospective guarantor of England's noble heritage. Furthermore, the representation of a pure Welsh landscape offers playwrights a literary strategy to criticise any Jacobean politics which did not correspond with older Elizabethan virtues and ideals.

The nostalgic view of Wales has its origins in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, a twelfth-century historiography compiled from disjointed scraps of disparate Welsh traditions by Geoffrey of Monmouth. John Davies, a modern historian, notes that 'all attempts to discover [Geoffrey's] sources have failed and it appears that most of the *Historia* is the product of his own imagination.'⁶⁸ Indeed, in early modern England Galfridian historiography was subject to criticism, as I will demonstrate in the next section. Nevertheless, the Trojan inheritance myth, the Arthurian legend

⁶⁶ Roy Strong, *Visions of England: or why we still dream of a place in the country* (London: Vintage, 2012), p. 86.

⁶⁷ Prys Morgan, 'Wild Wales: civilizing the Welsh from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries', in *Civil histories: essays presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed. by Peter Burke, Brian Harrison, and Paul Slack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 265-283 (p. 277).

⁶⁸ Davies, *A history of Wales*, p. 119.

and Merlin's prophecy that the Britons will once again rule the entire island, had a considerable pull on the early modern imagination of Welsh green space:

Although there are few manuscripts of the *Historia* after 1500, evidence suggests that materials relating to Geoffrey's account of Arthur continued to circulate among historians, courtiers, politicians, and poets side by side with what we might consider more sober history in an uneasy and conflicted cohabitation well into the seventeenth century.⁶⁹

The *Historia* begins with Aeneas' escape from Troy, his settlement in Rome and how his son Ascanius fathered Brutus. Yet after accidentally committing patricide, Brutus is banished from Italy and, in search of a new home, it is prophesied that he will find an island 'empty and ready for [his] folk.'⁷⁰ When he arrives on the island, Brutus and his Trojan followers found Troia Nova, modern-day London. The British kings convert to Christianity and survive Roman rule. With the decline of the Roman Empire, non-Christian Saxon tribes settle in the southeast and the British line of kings comes to an end with the death of Cadwaladr. Conquering most of the island, the Saxons chase Brutus' descendents 'over the Severn into Wales.'⁷¹ Geoffrey ends his narrative with the British race all but on the brink of extinction, 'except for a few little pockets of Britons who had stayed behind, living precariously in Wales, in the remote recesses of the woods.'⁷²

Geoffrey's *Historia* 'provided a readily available account of British origins that did not represent the British simply as barbarians colonized first by the Romans and then by the Saxons and Normans.'⁷³ On the contrary, Geoffrey imagines a legendary Wales, home to the original and uncorrupted heirs of the entire island. Living in secluded green spaces, the Welsh represent the residue of a noble nation, whose Trojano-Roman origins contrast with England's mixed Saxo-Norman heritage.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Shichtman, *King Arthur and the myth of history* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), p. 40; Julia C. Crick, *The Historia Regnum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth IV. Dissemination and reception in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), pp. 216-217.

⁷⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. and trans by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968; repr. 1976), p. 65.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁷³ Finke/Shichtman, p. 40.

⁷⁴ Lewis Thorpe, 'Introduction', in *The History of Kings of Britain* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968; repr. 1976), pp. 9-47 (p. 9).

Influenced by the *Historia*, early modern playwrights located noble wild men in the Welsh mountainscape in order to echo the Galfridian perception of Wales. Dramatic output with Welsh contexts proliferated with the investiture of Henry Frederick as Prince of Wales in 1610, raising the status of the Principality and triggering new theatrical explorations of Wales, its ancient British past, and its colonisation.⁷⁵ *The Valiant Welshman* was amongst this cluster of Welsh plays. Published under the initials R. A. in 1615, it follows the heroic career of Caradoc, a Welsh soldier.⁷⁶ As the prologue makes clear, this is a play about a distinctly 'English Nation' and the part a Welshman played in its war against the Romans.

Amongst so many valiant Princes of our English Nation, whose liues haue already euen cloyed the Stage, I searched the Chronicles of elder ages, wherein I found amongst diuers renowned persons, one Brittish Prince, who of his enemies, receiued the title of *Valiant Brittain*, his name was *Caradoc*, he was king of *Siluria*, *Ordonica*, and *March*, which Countries are now called, *South-Wales*, *North-Wales*, and the *Marches*; and therefore being born in Wales, and King of Wales, I called him the *valiant Welshman*. (A3r)⁷⁷

The play engages only loosely with early modern historiography. The prologue dismisses the protagonist's equation with Britain as imprecise. In spite of its Roman setting, Wales and England are separate territories. This Welshman, the play emphasises, lives in the Principality '[b]efore faire *Wales* her happy Vnion had' (B1r). This landscape has not yet been constitutionally yoked to England and I will demonstrate how the play imagines the western periphery as geographically detached and as a projection site for an idealised England. The 'happy Vnion', the play implies, is celebrated not because of the Principality's lack of civilisation, but, as I will demonstrate, because of the moral, religious and political purity which Welsh mountains represent in *The Valiant Welshman*. I argue that the play

⁷⁵ Marisa R. Cull, 'Contextualizing 1610: *Cymbeline*, *The Valiant Welshman*, and The Princes of Wales', in *Shakespeare and Wales: from the marches to the assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 127-142 (p. 127); see also Marisa R. Cull, "'Prince of Wales by Cambria's full consent?': the Princedom of Wales and the early modern stage", in *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 75-89.

⁷⁶ It is widely accepted that Robert Armin, star comedian of Shakespeare's Chamberlains' Men between 1599 and 1610, wrote *The Valiant Welshman*. Martin Butler, 'Armin, Robert (1563-1615)', *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, online ed. Lawrence Goldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue.urls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/647?docPos=1> [accessed 30 March 2013].

⁷⁷ R[obert] A[rmin], *The Valiant Welshman* (London: 1615).

counteracts the objectives of the Act of Union by refusing to homogenise the two territories. Instead, *The Valiant Welshman* stages a Welsh green space which moves uneasily in and out of the play's already unstable construction of Englishness.

John Kerrigan has argued that '[t]he positive qualities of ancient Britain were associated with Wales.'⁷⁸ However, *The Valiant Welshmen* is slightly more complicated than he suggests. Initially, Caradoc's Wales is described as a wild periphery. Wales is fraught with a brutal civil war; Caradoc 'rage[s] about | The mangled bodies of this bloody field' (B3v). In this violent environment, the Welsh are portrayed as barbaric and 'not lawfull in their government' (B1r). Wales, typically described as mountainous and unnavigable, is so far removed from England and Englishness that it is not even deemed to be part of Britain. It is an area with 'passages, as craggy as the Alps, | Silent and vnknown ways, as intricate, | As are the windings of a Laborynth' (H1r). Welsh green spaces are a 'solitary vncouth place' (E4r). Gederus, King of the 'English Nation', welcomes Caradoc and his soldiers to the battlefield as foreigners: 'braue Peeres of Wales, welcome to Bryttayne' (D1r). The play initially excludes Wales from the island's geography, while England and Britain represent the same nation.

In spite of its characteristic lack of civil government, isolation and unruly topography, Caradoc's Wales is paradoxically also virtuous and noble. The Welsh mountains are imagined both as an obstacle to accessing an otherwise separate landscape and a means to represent purity and virtue. Echoing Camden's description of the 'British *Alpes*', the Welsh bard who narrates the audience through the plot describes Welsh mountains which reach high into the celestial spheres and reflect a Welsh topology connected to ancient wisdom.

BARDH	Then know all you, whose knowing faculties Of your diuiner parts scorn insist On sensual obiects, or on naked sense, But on mans highest Alpes, Intelligence. (B1r)
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These are not just wild and unlawful men living in a correspondingly disorderly and separated green space. As the Bard implies, the Welsh are not exclusively subject to their animal-like impulses. These wild Welshmen display wisdom and

⁷⁸ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: literature, history, and politics, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 117.

virtue which is reflected in the high reaching 'Alpes' which elevate Wales, as the bard puts it, to 'eternall fame' (C4r).

The Welshmen's '[i]ntelligence' also extends to religious matters. Octavian, the King of North Wales, assures his followers that they are all but pagans.

OCTAUIAN And first, because your worthy selues shall see,
Our Royall thoughts adore no peasant god,
Or dung-hill baseness: but in that spheare we moue,
Where honor sits coequall with high *loue*. (C1r)

The Valiant Welshman situates Wales' green space in metaphorically higher spheres; it is a site of nostalgia and romance, not just because ancient nobility is inextricable from the Galfridian history that shapes the play's perception of Wales, but because Wales was also associated with a form of proto-Protestantism. Geoffrey describes how Christianity arrived in Britain long before the Saxons. Richard Davies, a Welsh bishop, expanded the *Historia* in his preface to the Welsh New Testament in 1567. Paying tribute to 'the heroism and ventures of the Welsh of old times,' Davies explains how a form of pure Christianity arrived in the western periphery.⁷⁹ When the pope sent St. Augustine to convert the Saxons, the Welsh-Britons, who had already converted to Christianity, resisted Catholicism until forced to accept it by the sword. The Welsh bishops, astonishingly anticipating Henry VIII's schism from Rome, refused to accept the pope's authority.⁸⁰ 'The Britons kept their Christianity pure,' Davies writes, 'and clung onto the guidance of God's word.'⁸¹ Similarly, *The Valiant Welshman* emphasises the extent to which Wales had laid the basis and origin of English nationhood. Given its uncorrupted virtue and religion, Caradoc's Wales represents, because of its geographical isolation and distance, that which England should strive to become. Welsh religion moves in 'higher spheres', it is 'coequall', that is equivalent to God's word. Welsh divinity is superior and purer to that of the pagan Saxons. Again, the mountainscape reflects Welsh elevation and protection from

⁷⁹ Richard Davies, 'Address to the Welsh People by Bishop Richard Davies', trans. by Albert Owen Evans, in *A memorandum on the legality of the Welsh Bible and the Welsh version of the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. by Albert Owen Evans (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1925), pp. 83-127 (p. 84).

⁸⁰ Kerrigan, pp. 121-122. Kerrigan notes that Richard Davies is personified in Spenser's *The Shepherd's Calendar* as Diggon Davie, 'the pastor who pursued his ministry in "a farre countrye" and found his church assets-stripped by noblemen, and its flocks infiltrated by Roman wolves.'

⁸¹ Davies, 'Address to the Welsh People', p. 91.

undesirable English traits, in this case religious corruption. If Wales was homogenised in 1536 because of its potential Catholic inclinations, *The Valiant Welshman* reverses this perception. Rather, Caradoc, the play's wild man equivalent, gestures at a desirable but lost version of uncorrupted Christian nationhood, a nation untainted by Saxon Catholicism or paganism.⁸²

Although the play introduces Wales as violent and lacking government, the defining features of the Welshmen soon turn out to be their valour, heroism and lack of corruption due to their mountainous protection. Caradoc and his Welsh forces come to Gederus' rescue, liberating England from the 'Roman yoke' (C3r). Even the Romans acknowledge Caradoc's heroism and valour. At the end of the play, although he is taken prisoner, Caradoc is freed because he had spared Claudius Caesar's life in a previous battle.

CAESAR	For this braue deed, And kind courtesies hewed to <i>Caesar</i> in extremes, We freely giue you all your liberties, And honourable will returne you home With euerlasting peace and vnity. And this shall <i>Caesar</i> speak vnto thy Fame, The valiant Welshman merits honours name. (I4v)
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Caesar's final speech entirely eclipses England or Britain. He locates bravery, courtesy, honour and fame in the mountainous Welsh landscape, reversing the spatial hierarchies set up by Gederus' initial marginalisation of the Principality. Caesar grants Wales its liberties, implying a Roman union not with Britain or England, but with the western Principality. Caesar's speech reinforces the Galfridian connection between the ancient Britons in Wales and the Romans. Indeed, when Venusius, Duke of York, joins the Welsh in their fight against the Romans, he describes the Welsh as the sole source of honour and nobility on the island.

VENUSIUS	When I behold His [Caradoc's] noble portraiture but in conceit, Me thinks, I see the reall thing it selfe Of perfite Honour and Nobility,
----------	--

⁸² In William Rowley's *A Shoemaker, A Gentleman* (1607-1609), Wales is a safe haven for all British Christians suffering under the Roman occupation. Like *The Valiant Welshman*, the play's Cambrian martyrdoms at Winifred's Well emphasise the Welshness of British saints and how much Protestant England owes to the proto-Protestant Principality.

And not fantastically apprehend
Onely the ayry fictions of the brayne. (H2v)

Venusius portrays the Welsh as the 'reall thing', as the island's claim to an ancient, proto-Protestant, and virtuous form of nationhood. Initially, the play links Caradoc and his family to brutish, halberd-swinging savages without civil laws. But, like Venusius' realisation of the 'reall thing', the play asks its audience to look closer and not be distracted by any criticism – or 'ayry fictions of the brayne' – Geoffrey's historiography had been subject to and which I will discuss in the next section. The Welsh periphery is a space of heroism, endorsing the entire island's ancient and superior past. In the course of the play, Wales moves from peripheral isolation to the desirable centre, displacing the British or English nation in the process. Caradoc, I argue, is a peripheral wild man who comments on the degree to which the corrupted centre has ventured from the right course, while representing a way back to a more desired understanding of nationhood. R. A.'s Welsh are 'the reall thing' and I now show how the play draws on heroic proto-Protestant Welshmen to disseminate a political alternative to the current and supposedly corrupted Jacobean present.

The Valiant Welshman, as Cull demonstrates, was staged to celebrate Henry Frederick's investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610. I argue that the play invites the prospective king to abandon his father's policy of peaceful coexistence with Catholic opponents and build on older Elizabethan virtues. Prince Henry was vividly interested in warfare and he would have been easily inspired by Caradoc's heroism.⁸³ R. A.'s Wales is a topological space where peripheral concepts are explored and inverted to contest the corrupted policies of the centre. The play not only encourages the future heir to look back on his ancient belligerent genealogy, drawing on Wales as a retrospective guarantor of the legitimacy of a Protestant nation, but also to follow Caradoc's example and pursue a more active and warlike approach towards European Catholic nations. In *The Valiant Welshman*, the unruly and emphatically mountainous Welsh landscape represents a *pièce de résistance*, a projection of topological defiance against James' peaceful approach towards Catholic nations. The play locates the 'British *Alpes*', which reflect man's highest intelligence, in Wales and encourages the new Prince of Wales to embrace his

⁸³ Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 7-8.

heroically Protestant attributes as Caradoc did in order to rise with the Welsh mountains to 'eternall fame.' In the Jacobean imagination, Wales' homeomorphic landscape represented that which England should strive to emulate.

Geoffrey's ancient and uncorrupted Wales survived in the imagination of early modern drama. As an ancient buffer zone against Anglo-Saxon paganism or Catholicism, Geoffrey's historiography produced the Welsh wilderness as a landscape which, like Sachs' or Montaigne's primitive wild men, represented a residue of an uncorrupted era. The literary and dramatic representation of noble wild men populating a Welsh green space offered readers and audiences an alternative to England, that is, Wales represented what England could yet become in the future if it shed its corrupting faults. The play reverses the homogenised Welsh landscape set up by the Act of Union; instead, Gederus' pagan England fades away in the course of the play and is replaced with Caradoc's pure and Protestant Wales.

Early modern Britain also inherited a tradition in which Welsh green spaces were produced as wild and untameable. The homeomorphic 'British *Alpes*' also sheltered dissent and opposition in addition to displaying fame and wisdom. In its initial introduction of the Principality, *The Valiant Welshman*, as I have argued, implied that Welsh wild men were not exclusively noble savages who criticised the impurity of the centre, but also representatives of wilderness, non-conformity and dissent. The representation of Welsh green space on the early modern stage also offered English nationhood an ostensible mode of self-definition by negation; other contemporary plays drew on the Welsh landscape to imagine the periphery as wild and unnavigable, while England represents an ordered gardenscape.

IV. 'THE CHEEFEST BRUTE OF WESTERNE WALES': COLONISATION AND ITS LIMITS IN *EDWARD I* AND *A MASKE PRESENTED AT LUDLOW CASTLE*

In 1584, David Powel of Ruabon published *The historie of Cambria, now called Wales*. He expanded the histories of Geoffrey and other Welsh patriots, continuing Welsh historiography from the death of Cadwaladr. In an effort to understand the manner in which England made sense of the Principality, Powel acknowledges that colonisation transformed the Welsh into wild men, brutalising them through mismanagement and abuse.

The Welshmen were by the Saxons and Normans counted enimies, before the twelfth yeare of Edward the first, while they had a gouernour amoung themselues: and afterward, when king Edward had brought the countrie to his subiection, he placed English officers to keepe them vnder, to whome most commonlie he gaue the forfeits and possessions of such Welshmen as disobeied his lawes, and refused to be ruled by the said officers: the like did the other Kings that came after him. The said officers were thought oftentimes to be ouer-seuere and rigorous for their owne profit & commoditie: which things caused the people often to disobeie, & manie times like desperate men to seeke reuengement[.] [...] Wherevpon the inhabitants of England fauoring their countriemen and freends, reported not the best of the Welshmen. (¶6r-¶6v)⁸⁴

Striving to come to terms with why the English saw him a ‘fierce, vnquiet, craking, fickle and vnconstant Welshman’, Powel concludes that England’s colonial ambitions have ‘othered’ his countrymen (¶6r). Indeed, Geoffrey’s Welsh historiography was under scrutiny in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Powel wrote *The historie of Cambria* in response to Geoffrey’s fiercest critic, Polydore Vergil. In *Historia Anglicana*, the Italian immigrant deconstructed Galfridian historiography, transforming the Welsh into savage wild men in a correspondingly untamed environment prior to the first Saxon settlements. Vergil’s re-modelling of Welsh origins had an impact on the imagination of Wales and circulated alongside Geoffrey’s in early modern literary culture.

The Celtic periphery was often viewed with suspicion. “‘The Welsh are Christians in name only,” wrote the bishop of Canterbury to the Pope in 1159; “they are barbarians, as can be seen from the fact that Owain, their prince, has taken his uncle’s daughter as his wife.” “The Welsh,” wrote Henry II to the Byzantine emperor, “are wild people who cannot be tamed.”⁸⁵ In the twelfth century, Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welsh chronicler, took every opportunity to berate Geoffrey, even though his debt to the Galfridian chronicle is considerable.⁸⁶ Giraldus describes the Welsh as a reflection of their landscape; ‘[b]ecause of its high mountains, deep valleys and extensive forest, not to mention its rivers and

⁸⁴ David Powel, *The historie of Cambria, now called Wales* ([London]: 1584).

⁸⁵ Quoted in Davies, *A history of Wales*, p. 127. See also R.R. Davies, ‘Presidential address: the people of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400. I. Identities’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, sixth series, 4 (1994), pp. 1-20.

⁸⁶ Betty Radice, ‘Gerald of Wales and King Arthur’, in *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 280-289 (p. 280).

marches, it is not easy of access,' the Welsh 'do not live in towns, villages or castles, but lead a solitary existence deep in the woods.' According to Giraldus, they walked barefoot and barelegged, spoke a barbaric language, practiced incest and sodomy and had their own primitive laws and customs.⁸⁷ Contrary to the landscape in the *Historia* or *The Valiant Welshman*, where the mountains signified superiority and protection from corruption, here, the Welsh green space is secluded and untamed; it resists English language, law and civilisation.⁸⁸

Producing Wales' mountainous seclusion by way of its resistance of legal norms was as common as the noble Galfridian perception in early modern literature and drama. Camden, rejecting Geoffrey's historiography, consulted the surviving accounts of the Roman invasion, which depict the Welsh ancestors as anonymous, naked barbarians inhabiting an untamed landscape – they are 'rude and barbarous [...] altogether ignorant in gardening and planting orchards'.⁸⁹ John Speed's image of an ancient Briton in *The Historie of Great Britaine* further emphasises Wales' ancestral barbarity.

⁸⁷ Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp. 220, 251.

⁸⁸ See also John Morrill, 'The British problem, c.1534-1707', in *The British problem, c.1534-1707: state formation in the Atlantic archipelago*, ed. by Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1-38 (p. 7).

⁸⁹ Camden, p. 29; Graham Parry, 'Ancient Britons and early Stuarts', in *Neo-historicism: studies in Renaissance literature, history, and politics*, ed. by Robin Headlam Wells, Glenn Burgess, and Rowland Wymer (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 155-178 (p. 155).



Figure 9: John Speed, *Historie Of Great Britaine* (London: [1611]), p. 180.

The Welshman is shown decapitating his victims, the common manner in which wild men demonstrated their strength. Camden and Speed's historiographies invert the *Historia's* imagination of Wales. If the Galfridian Saxon invaders were pagan wild men attacking the noble, proto-Protestant Britons, in Camden and Speed the Welsh are barbarous and only the Anglo-Saxon invasion enabled a civilised peace under what Camden called 'one nation.'⁹⁰ Such ontological manipulations of the extant historiographies remained in circulation in subsequent decades and made the ratification of the Act of Union possible in the first place. Only if Welsh green spaces were othered and its inaccessibility and seclusion made to represent brutality and a lack of civil law, could parliament declare that Wales was plagued by 'manifold other Malefacts, contrary to all Laws and Justice' and

⁹⁰ Camden, p. 110.

intervene by importing English law and civility.⁹¹ Virgil's and Camden's reinterpretation of Wales was influential to such an extent that even a Welsh author gratefully embraced colonisation, celebrating English nationhood and the taming of the Welsh wilderness.

George Owen of Henllys composed detailed descriptions of early modern Wales in *The Dialogue of the Government of Wales* (1594) and the *Description of Pembrokeshire* (1603). His treatises celebrate the 'joyful metamorphosis' of Wales under the Act of Union, a metamorphosis not only of society, but also of the landscape.⁹² In the *Dialogue*, Barthol and Demetus discuss the benefits of English legal administration and the degree of civilisation and safety which Henry VIII's Act introduced. The interlocutors are jubilant that the dark days of barbarity and ignorance have come to an end and that Wales has been 'increased in learning and civility'.⁹³ Even the land has become more orderly and surveyable in the wake of its assimilation to England.

DEMETUS [Wales] is grown and shortly like to be as civil as any other place of this land[.] [...] [T]he countrey is grown to be much more tilled, and enclosures in most parts full, and the country people with great diligence apply their labour, many countries heretofore desolate now well inhabited. [...] if our fathers were now living they would think it some strange country inhabited with a foreign nation, so altered is the country and countrymen, the people changed in heart within and land altered in hue without, from evil to good, and from bad to better.⁹⁴

Civilisation is reflected in the landscape – the shift away from lawlessness goes hand in hand with manicured, arable and implicitly flat green spaces. The colonisation of Wales, according to Owen, has rid the territory of inaccessible and desolate places. The Welsh wild men, the ancient 'fathers', are domesticated and would no longer recognise their territory. Owen celebrates the Act of Union and its civilising effects on the Cambrian landscape. George Peele's *Edward I* makes a

⁹¹ *The statutes*, III., p. 244.

⁹² Quoted in Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987; repr. 1993), p. 459.

⁹³ George Owen, *The Dialogue of the Government of Wales (1594)*, ed. by John Gwynfor Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), p. 96; see also B.G. Charles, *George Owen of Henllys: a Welsh Elizabethan* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales Press, 1973), p. 136.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

similar argument. Peele stages the taming of Wales as a process which allows him to present Wales as a 'weed', contrasting it to the ordered gardenscape of England. If Wales represents an ancient role model in *The Valiant Welshman*, Peele draws on Welsh green space as a negative foil for English self-definition. Although John Milton wrote *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* four decades after Peele's play and with a different audience in mind, a comparison between the two texts nevertheless reveals how both entertainments, regardless of their decade and audience, were preoccupied with the differences between Wales and England and the disputed legacy of the Act of Union. Both entertainments initially pursue a policy of 'othering' Welsh green space in order to celebrate English superiority and nationhood. However, Milton's argument is more subtle in ascribing limits to the assimilatory process underlying the Act of Union, whereas Peele somewhat blithely celebrates Englishness. If Peele's Welsh landscape is easily manicured, *A Maske* complements Englishness, but crucially limits the force of colonisation. Milton highlights the lack of Welsh assimilation to date, even ridiculing the achievements of the Act of Union almost a century after its first ratification. Both texts negotiate the extent to which the Act dominated and challenged the theatrical imagination of Welsh green space years after it first declared the homogenisation of the Welsh periphery.

When the historical Llywellyn ap Gruffydd was made Prince of Wales, he adopted an oppositional position towards the English court. When he refused to pay homage to the newly crowned Edward I in 1274, he provoked the King to conquer the Principality. The resulting Statutes of Rhuddlan of 1284 established Wales as a *de facto* colony and formed the basis for the Act of Union.⁹⁵ The Edwardian conquest was explored on the early modern stage in *King Edward I*, first published in 1593. King Edward has just successfully fought in Jerusalem against 'barbarous people, stubborn or vntamet' (A2v).⁹⁶ Upon his return, he faces Lluellen, another untamed savage in need of civilisation. The play equates the crusades against the Saracens to the crown's military engagement with Wales. Although Peele makes a few parenthetical concessions to the Welshman's Galfridian heritage, Lluellen's behaviour is never congruent with that of noble Welsh-Britons.

⁹⁵ Davies, 'Colonial Wales', pp. 9-10.

⁹⁶ George Peele, *The Famous Chronicle of king Edward the first* (London: 1593).

LLUELLEN Follow Lluellen, rightful Prince of Wales,
 Sprung from the loynes of *Troian Brute*,
 And though the traitorous *Saxons, Normans, Danes*,
 Have spent the true *Romans* of glorious *Troy*,
 Within the westerne mountains of this Ile:
 Yet haue we hope to climbe these stonie pales,
 When Londoners as Romans erst amazde,
 Shall tembling crie, *Lluellens* at the gate. (B1v)

Peele portrays the Welsh as descendants of Brutus, but nevertheless as a backward, incestuous and violent people, dwelling in a mountainous and secluded landscape.⁹⁷ In Chapter One, I argue that Robin Hood's northern greenwood became a symbol of unconformity and Catholicism. Peele transfers the potentially subversive Robin Hood tradition from the north to the west of Britain. In his Welsh green space, Lluellen fashions himself as a Welsh 'Robin of the Mountaine' (G2r). This reinvention highlights the Welsh undermining of the political centre; 'Robin Hood and his cultural meanings are completely implicated in a nationalist and treasonous struggle.'⁹⁸ But as was the case with the Robin Hood tradition, which was subject, as we have seen, to ideological re-writings, Peele downplays any subversive actions of his Welsh Robin Hood. Instead of depicting Lluellen and his followers as real threats to monarchical hegemony, the Welsh Robin Hood is in need of English law and order.

The use of the Robin Hood motif would have prompted audiences to categorise the Welsh rebel as an antagonist to social order and civility. The play 'benefits from the stereotypes of alterity provided by the "wild west" of Wales'.⁹⁹ Lluellen establishes a Welsh greenwood, or a 'Common-wealth', based on primitive ideals akin to Virgil's and Camden's primitive and uncivil Britons: Lluellen declares, 'naked come we into the world, naked are we turned out of the good townes into the wilderness' (E1v). Indeed, Welsh green space is described as 'vnpleasant', 'base', 'noysome' and 'No Climate good' replete with 'contagious aire', contrasting with R. A.'s pure mountainscape (D4v, E2r). In his inhospitable habitat Lluellen will 'wander like irregulars up and down the wilderness' (E1v). In a pun

⁹⁷ Alex May, 'Green tights and swordfights: *Edward I* and the making of memories', in *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 59-74 (p. 68).

⁹⁸ Edwin Davenport, 'The representation of Robin Hood in Elizabethan drama: *George a Greene* and *Edward I*', in *Playing Robin Hood: the legend as performance in five centuries*, ed. by Lois Potter (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), pp. 45-62 (p. 58).

⁹⁹ May, p. 71.

on both the Galfridian founding story and Welsh savagery, a pun akin to the one in Mucedorus' speech, Lluellen is described as 'the cheefest brute of westernne Wales' (C2r). Indeed, unlike the northern Robin Hood, the Welsh outlaw robs and cheats poor locals – he is a scourge to the progression of an entire region. Edward's conquest of Wales is justified as a civilising mission and the Welsh Robin Hood is killed in battle; the play symbolically eliminates 'the weed that chokes faire Cambria' (H1v). The purging of Wales from its wild man absolves the region of wilderness and incivility; the play tames and orders the landscape, it weeds and aligns the Principality to an implicitly ordered English gardenscape. As in Owen of Henllys' *Dialogue*, civility and an ordered landscape go hand in hand since the Act of Union. Four decades later, *A Maske* also produces an untamed Welsh space. In contrast to Peele, who praised the beneficiary effects assimilation had on the Welsh landscape, Milton gestures at the problems underlying the process of colonisation and the limits of English civility and nationhood.

On 29 September 1634, *A Maske* was performed in Ludlow, a Shropshire market town only a couple of miles from the Welsh border.¹⁰⁰ The performance celebrated the inauguration of the Earl of Bridgewater as Lord President of Wales, head of the Council of the Marches, a judicial and military organ and the crown's chief administrative unit in Wales.¹⁰¹ His task was to 'create a strong center from which justice would emanate outward.'¹⁰² However, Milton's entertainment would not have encouraged its audience to venture out into the landscape to the west of Ludlow Castle.¹⁰³ In *A Mask*, Wales is 'at a different and subordinate level of development' and in need of English civilisation.¹⁰⁴ However, I suggest that the masque questions the earl's ability to export justice and civilisation; it imagines Wales and its borderlands as antagonistic towards English civility and English judiciary. The Council of the Marches was faced with the impossible task of

¹⁰⁰ David Lloyd, 'Ludlow Castle', *Milton Quarterly*, 21.4 (1987), pp. 52-58.

¹⁰¹ John Creaser, "'The present aid of this occasion": The setting of *Comus*', in *The court masque*, ed. by David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 111-134 (p. 115).

¹⁰² Leah S. Marcus, 'The milieu of Milton's *Comus*: judicial reform at Ludlow and the problems of sexual assault', *Criticism*, 25.4 (1983), pp. 293-327 (p. 295).

¹⁰³ Sanders locates the setting of the masque in the Forest of Dean in Gloucestershire, one of the four border counties in the jurisdiction of the Council of the Marches. By contrast, I wish to demonstrate that *Comus*' wood is an inherently Welsh green space. Julie Sanders, *The cultural geography of early modern drama, 1620-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 75-84.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Wilding, 'Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*: theatre and politics on the border', *Milton Quarterly*, 21.4 (1987), pp. 35-51 (p. 38).

introducing legality and civic order into an immeasurable landscape which it considered replete with sexual deviation, homicide and religious dissent.¹⁰⁵

As in Camden's and Norden's descriptions, *A Mask* imagines Wales as unnavigable. A Lady, played by the earl's daughter Alice, is on her way to the Castle, but loses her way in Wales. While the masque emphasises Ludlow's safety and 'holyer ground', Wales is described by way of 'perplex't paths of the dreare wood, | The nodding horror of whose shadie brows | Threats the forlorne and wandering Passinger' (E4r, B1v).¹⁰⁶ This is a region of 'darkeness', 'unharbour'd Heaths' and 'desert Wildernesses' (C4r, B4v). The landscape's incivility is personified through subhuman demons, led by Comus, a wild man-like creature who will attempt to rape the Lady. The masque differentiates between the 'holyer ground' in England and the 'darkeness' of Wales. As Claire McEachern points out, Comus and his retinue embody 'the power of the alien over the native, the margin over the center.'¹⁰⁷ However, I argue that unlike Peele's *Edward I*, Milton's masque does not advocate a complete taming of the Welsh landscape. By way of staging Welsh 'otherness', Milton legitimises the necessity of the earl's judicial intervention and even colonisation, but at the same time suggests the limits of the success of the cultural assimilation of Wales under the Act of Union.

Lost in the woods, the Lady hears the clamour of dissent and revolt.

LADY This way the noise wad, if mine eare be true
 My best guide now, me thought it was the sound
 Of Riot, and ill manag'd Merriment,
 Such as the jocund Flute, or gamesome Pipe
 Stirs up among the loose unleter'd Hinds
 When for their teeming Flocks, and granges full
 In wanton dance they praise the bounteous *Pan*,
 And thanke the gods amisse. I should be loath
 To meet the rudeness, and swill'd insolence
 Of such late Wassailers; yet O where else
 Shall I inform my unacquainted feet
 In the blind mazes of this tangl'd Wood? (B4r)

¹⁰⁵ Owen, *Wales in the reign of James I*, p. 12. Numerous broadsides and ballads disseminated such violent depictions of Wales. See for example *A Warning for all Murderers*. (London: [1601-1640]). The ballad recounts a homicide case in Denbighshire, north Wales, and how a five-year-old takes revenge into his own hands.

¹⁰⁶ John Milton, *A Maske Presented At Ludlow Castle* (London: 1637).

¹⁰⁷ Claire McEachern, *The poetics of English nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 190.

This is the noise of a Catholic May Game – in the 1630s, Wales and its border area were regarded as resistant to Christianity, deprived of adequate Protestant clergy and still practising a form of papism.¹⁰⁸ If Wales was home to an original form of Protestantism in *The Valiant Welshman*, *A Maske* inverts Welsh space into its homeomorphic opposite. The locals worship Pan, a decentralised deity who's symbolism, as I argue in Chapter Three, critics of the Stuarts drew on to produce an oppositional countryside in the margins. The English Lady is surrounded with 'riot', 'rudeness' and 'swill'd insolence', which threaten her moral integrity and chastity. Unease about Welsh recusants, the practice of adultery and incest, as well as powerful and armed local factions, were driving forces behind the ratification of the Act of Union. The space beyond the Severn represents the opposite of Englishness; Wales was 'viewed as something of a monstrosity' – a monstrosity which threatens the Lady's Protestant civility.¹⁰⁹

Comus disguises himself as a local shepherd and escorts the Lady to his 'loyall cottage' (C2v). Comus' emphasis on 'loyall', hints at both the potential political and religious subversion that Wales harbours. The cottage, however, is as deceptive as everything else in Milton's Principality. Comus ties the Lady into a chair with magic and attempts to violate her. She is only saved when her brothers, guided by a benevolent spirit, arrive in the nick of time. The siblings return to Ludlow, where they can celebrate their father's promotion. Comus' escape, however, leaves the masque emphatically unsettled. The spirit expresses this concern: 'What, have you let the false enchanter escape?' (E2r).

The residual danger of the landscape, embodied in the masque by the rapacious wild man Comus and the presence of the nearby rioters, remains uneasily untamed and unresolved. Milton's entertainment differs fundamentally from the royal masques of his predecessors. Ben Jonson's *The Queen's Masque, The First, of Blackness* (1609), for example, opens with a spectacular visual landscape, 'imitating that orderly disorder which is common in nature.'¹¹⁰ In *The Queen's Masque*, the English countryside is visually pleasing and subservient to James' gaze, which 'symbolically gives an abstract order and structure to his body politic

¹⁰⁸ Wilding, p. 44.

¹⁰⁹ Philip Schwyzer, 'Purity and danger on the west bank of the Severn: the cultural geography of *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634*', *Representations*, 60 (1997), pp. 22-48 (p. 36).

¹¹⁰ *The Queen's Masque, The first, of Blackness*, in *Ben Jonson: the complete masques*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 47-74 (p. 48).

as represented in the landscape scenery.’¹¹¹ Milton’s Welsh landscape, in contrast, bears no resemblance to Jonson’s artificial ‘orderly disorder’. Stephen Orgel has argued that the iconographic meaning of scenery and its aesthetic form cannot be distinguished; the masque is, quite literally, a message expressing the ideals of British absolutism determined to ‘purify, reorder, reform, re-conceive a whole culture.’¹¹² By contrast, *A Maske* refuses to purify or reform the territory beyond Ludlow. The peripheral difference Comus embodies endures and the English protagonists must flee Wales hastily: ‘Let us fly this cursed place, | Lest the sorcerer us intice | With some new device’ (E4v). Indeed, the Welsh threat to Englishness is resolved only temporarily; Comus will return. The Earl of Bridgewater’s mission to introduce English justice and civility into the Principality, or to assimilate Wales to England and to execute the Act of Union, the masque suggests, is a process which remains incomplete, if not unattainable.

I have argued that Comus and Lluellen, two variants of the wild man, were literary tools to imagine Welsh green spaces as a contrastive foil to English purity and civilization. When Comus calls on the sun as ‘a blabbing Eastern scout, | The nice Morn on th’ *Indian* steep’ (B3v), he invites comparisons between Wales and the East Indies, and the colonisation and exploitation of new territories. The Wales of *A Maske* abounds with dark places. It is backward and pagan, awaiting the colonisation and civilising mission of the Earl of Bridgewater’s administrative, judicial, and military control over the western periphery. However, the cultural assimilation of Wales, the masque implies, was still in process in 1634 – Comus continues to resist English law, civility and religion. Contrary to Peele’s Lluellen, the Welsh landscape in *A Maske* remains emphatically unweeded and unsettled. Comus’ resistance of English civilisation ascribes limits to the constitutional assimilation of Wales which was completed almost a century prior to the performance of *A Maske*.

Both Lluellen and Comus gesture at inherited modes of perceiving the Welsh as uncivil wild men and, to different degrees, celebrate English nationhood. Early modern drama imagined and produced Welsh green space as both a wild and unweeded garden and a site of nostalgic nobility, reflected in its celestial summits,

¹¹¹ Kenneth Robert Olwig, *Landscape, nature, and the body politic: from Britain’s Renaissance world to America’s New World* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p. 89.

¹¹² Stephen Orgel, *The illusion of power: political theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 87.

or 'Alpes'. The theatrical production of Welsh green space negotiated discourses on nationhood and, collectively, worked in between the binaries of celebrating Welshness and limiting the expansion of Englishness. The Henrician Act of Union, referred to time and again in the literary output of the early seventeenth century, was the discursive gauge for measuring the failures and successes of colonisation and assimilation of Wales and its effects on the period's contested understandings of English nationhood. Shakespeare's *King Lear* and *Cymbeline*, I now argue, draw on both sides of the irreconcilable and homeomorphic imagination of Wales, folding the spaces of coloniser and colonised, of centre and periphery, into one. These plays, I suggest, complicate the construction of nationhood in the wake of James' failed reunification of Britain by staging lost or amalgamated identities.

**V. 'THEIR DISCIPLINE, NOW WING-LED WITH THEIR COURAGE':
KING LEAR, CYMBELINE AND THE CONTAMINATION OF ENGLISHNESS**

With the accession of the Stuarts, the popularity of Galfridian historiography experienced an resurgence.¹¹³ For Schwyzer, 'James I was perhaps still more eager to highlight his Welsh descent, not only as a link to Trojano-British antiquity but as a means to tempering his Scottishness and emphasizing his continuity with his Tudor predecessors.'¹¹⁴ Pageants and masques such as Anthony Munday's *Triumphes of re-vnited Britania* (1605) celebrated the new monarch as the second Brutus, whose arrival would re-unite the island.

Iames the fourth king of Scotland, of whom our *second* Brute (Royall king *Iames*) is truly and rightfully descended: by whose happye comming to the Crowne, *England, Wales & Scotland*, by the first *Brute* seuered and diuided, is in our second *Brute* re-united, and made one happy *Brittania* again[.] (B2r)¹¹⁵

After Brutus' story is retold, his sons comment on the impending reunification. Whereas Albanact, the brother who received Scotland, must be persuaded to yield to the second Brutus, Camber, the second brother, refers to the Edwardian conquest and the Henrician Union: 'I yielded long ago', he declares (B4r). The

¹¹³ Parry, pp. 156-157; Vaughan Hart, *Art and magic in the court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 30-60.

¹¹⁴ Philip Schwyzer, 'Thirteen ways of looking like a Welshman: Shakespeare and his contemporaries', in *Shakespeare and Wales: from the marches to the assembly*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 21-41 (p. 25).

¹¹⁵ Anthony Munday, *The Trivmphes of re-vnited Britania* (London: 1605).

pageant brushes aside any dissonances and fissures created in the annexation of the Welsh landscape, which as I have argued, theatres and private entertainments were more aware of, taking ambivalent stances towards Welsh politics and its connection to understandings of Englishness in the aftermath of the Act of Union. Two Shakespearean plays negotiate arguments which further problematise the clear distinction between Welshness and Englishness, suggesting that in fact the one space contaminates the other. Whereas the wild men of Peele, R. A. and Milton stayed in the Principality, Shakespeare's wild men were mobile. If the ancient Britons were pushed back into a mountainous seclusion during the Saxon settlement, in *King Lear* and *Cymbeline* the wild man returns to the English court. While *Lear's* wild man tames himself before returning, *Cymbeline's* wild men import wilderness and Welshness into the centre. The binaries between Wales and England, or, between civility and savagery, are fluid and admit degrees of contamination.

Lear begins with the partition of a kingdom which echoes that of Brutus. Goneril receives Scotland, recognisable through her husband's name Albany.¹¹⁶ Cordelia is allocated the south-east, 'the third more opulent' part which includes London (*F*, I.i.86).¹¹⁷ Regan is given Cornwall, which included Wales and the west of England, two regions joined under the interchangeable titles Duke of Cornwall and Prince of Wales.¹¹⁸ Critics have long suggested that Shakespeare chose the theme of *King Lear* specifically to lend support to the king's project to unite the parliaments of England and Scotland.¹¹⁹ Richard Dutton argues that the Folio text refers to Merlin's prophecy because it promised that the ancient separation would eventually be cancelled. In effect, the prophecy supports James in undoing what

¹¹⁶ John Gillies, 'The scene of cartography in *King Lear*', in *Literature, mapping, and the politics of space in early modern Britain*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 109-137 (p. 115).

¹¹⁷ William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, The Arden Shakespeare Third Series, ed. by R.A. Foakes (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1997).

¹¹⁸ Gary Taylor and Michael Warren, 'Preface', in *The division of the kingdoms: Shakespeare's two versions of King Lear*, ed. by Gary Taylor and Michael Warren (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), pp. v-x (p. vi); Terence Hawkes, 'Lear's maps: a general survey', in *Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft West: Jahrbuch 1989*, ed. by Werner Habicht (Bochum: Ferdinand Kamp, 1989), pp. 134-147 (p. 137).

¹¹⁹ See John W. Draper, 'The occasion of *King Lear*', *Studies in Philology*, 34.2 (1937), pp. 176-185; Marie Axton, *The queen's two bodies: drama and the Elizabethan succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), pp. 131-147; Gillies, p. 115.

Brutus, and also Lear, have so carelessly separated.¹²⁰ Indeed, if Edgar inherits Lear's throne in the Folio text, then Lear's godson represents a further step towards the reunification of Britain. Both Camden and Holinshed celebrate the policies of unification in the historical Eadgar's reign: 'He caused diuerse kings to bind themselues by oth to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Indug king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, [...] and also all the kings of the Welshmen [...] sware to be at his commandement.'¹²¹

Gary Taylor suggests that Shakespeare reworked the *Lear* Quarto just before he began writing *Cymbeline*.¹²² I argue that the two plays form a dialectic relationship.¹²³ If *King Lear* celebrates reunification and warns about the potential catastrophic effects of dividing a kingdom, then *Cymbeline* offers a thematic sequel to Lear's fatal division, exploring themes which *Lear* sidesteps, or even suppresses. *Cymbeline* demonstrates the difficulty, if not impossibility, of re-uniting two territorial landscapes, exploring the problems that Edgar's final speech swept aside in the earlier play. In the Folio, Edgar positions himself as the most likely candidate to inherit his godfather's throne. But before he can do so, he casts aside his role of a wild man roaming through a desolate landscape. As 'Poor Tom', Edgar denounces his ability to reason through speech, taking on 'the basest and most poorest shape | That ever penury in contempt of man | Brought near to beast' (II.ii.178-180). His part, he suggests, makes a mockery of mankind's potential; as a wild man-like creature he must, as we have seen Calvin argue, 'follow the inclination of nature' and embrace 'outrageous barbarity.' Edgar's role reflects the chaotic state of Lear's divided nation, but he does not maintain it for long.¹²⁴ Soon, the blinded Gloucester notices that 'thy voice is altered and thou speak'st | In better phrase and matter than thou didst' (IV.vi.8-9). By the time Edgar delivers

¹²⁰ Richard Dutton, 'King Lear, The Triumph of Reunited Britannia, and "the matter of Britain"', *Literature & History*, 12.2 (1986), pp. 139-151 (p. 140).

¹²¹ Holinshed, I. p. 694; Camden, p. 605.

¹²² Gary Taylor, 'King Lear: the date and authorship of the folio version', in *The division of the kingdoms: Shakespeare's two versions of King Lear*, ed. by Gary Taylor and Michael Warren (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), pp. 351-470 (p. 386); see also Steven Urkowitz, *Shakespeare's revision of King Lear* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 3, 147. Taylor disagrees with Urkowitz, who dates the Folio revisions shortly after the publication of the first quarto. For a comment on how Taylor's 1610 date remakes the tragedy as a late play, see Gordon McMullan, *Shakespeare and the idea of late writing: authorship in the proximity of death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 294-307.

¹²³ See also Irving Ribner, 'Shakespeare and legendary history: *Lear* and *Cymbeline*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 7.1 (1956), pp. 47-52.

¹²⁴ Pinciss, p. 88.

the final speech, he has fully re-embraced civility and reclaims the power of speech: 'The weight of this sad time we must obey, | Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say' (V.iii.322-323). Edgar displays empathy for the dead and leads Lear's Britain back to order after a tumultuous period. Edgar has tamed his wild man impulses: he does what he must, not what he desires. After a period of violence, licentiousness and a lack of filial obedience, Edgar's return to civility echoes Britain's; in Edgar's reign, his subjects will once again 'obey' reason.

In contrast to Edgar, Guiderius and Arviragus are not playing wild men. They are raised in the wilderness as savages and, I argue, import the implications of that wild landscape into Cymbeline's English court. Unlike Edgar, Guiderius and Arviragus cannot fully purge themselves of their inherent wilderness. As a result, any efforts of assimilating a lost province, the play suggests, will inevitably result in the estrangement of the coloniser's basis of authority.¹²⁵ In *Cymbeline*, the English understanding of law and civility, two legitimising concepts underlining the Act of Union, are estranged and adapted to the colonised. Unlike Peele's *Edward I*, which justified the imposition of law and civility into an unruly Welsh landscape, *Cymbeline*'s England must assimilate to Wales. In the end, the self-defining features of Englishness must adapt to the princes' Welsh upbringing; Englishness must accommodate Welsh wilderness.

Before *Cymbeline* introduces its audience to the Welsh wild men, the evil queen defines Britain as an enclosed park, 'ribbed and paled in | With oaks unscalable and roaring waters' (III.i.19-20). Not even Julius Caesar, she gloats, could overcome the Atlantic archipelago's walls. By the end of the play, the British army has defeated the Roman invaders, but Britain voluntarily subjects itself to an old Roman tax law. Camden suggested that Roman colonisation was positive for the progress of British civilisation: 'the brightness of that most glorious Empire, chased away all savage barbarisme from the Britans mindes'.¹²⁶ However, underlying this beneficent and voluntary colonisation by the Romans at the conclusion of *Cymbeline*, the rugged, mountainous and untamed Welsh green spaces invade the queen's civilised and walled British gardenscape. Juxtaposed with the desired and civilising alignment with Rome, wilderness contaminates

¹²⁵ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, p. 114.

¹²⁶ Camden, p. 63. See also Gordon McMullan, 'The colonisation of early Britain on the Jacobean stage', in *Reading the medieval in early modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 119-140 (pp. 119-121).

Cymbeline's Britain. While Edgar 'obeys' the law and reclaims civil and empathetic speech at the end of *King Lear*, the Welsh wild men contaminate Cymbeline's court. Anke Bernau has argued that the concept of 'Britishness' was constantly threatened by the return of its barbarous heritage.¹²⁷ In *Cymbeline*, I argue, barbarism returns to invert Cymbeline's Romanised court.

Since Emrys Jones' essay 'Stuart *Cymbeline*', critics have read the play in the context of the union debate.¹²⁸ Expanding Jones' argument, Leah Marcus reads the plot as a political allegory. She suggests that the marriage of Posthumus and Innogen reflects James' fantasy to incorporate Scotland under English government and law.¹²⁹ Recently, however, critics have questioned *Cymbeline*'s propagandistic engagement with Jacobean politics. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Andrew Escobedo have argued that the play is less optimistic about an Anglo-Scottish future. Englishness is separated from Britishness; the play represents an effort to 'fix a line of biological inheritance for the English', while Britishness implies an ancient history of mingled, corrupted and barbaric genealogies.¹³⁰ Rather than indiscriminately promoting reunification, *Cymbeline* highlights the national fissures James' proposition might create.¹³¹ Roland Boling's essay on Anglo-Welsh relations in *Cymbeline* discusses Wales' position as England's colony. The play, Boling argues, juxtaposes the Anglicisation of Wales with the Romanisation of Britain.¹³² I would like to offer an alternative to Boling's suggestion that *Cymbeline*'s England simply absorbs Wales by disseminating English culture and economic opportunity.¹³³ Rather, the modes of colonial exchange work in both directions. Six decades after the Act of Union introduced a superficial legal and

¹²⁷ Anke Bernau, 'Myths of origin and the struggle over nationhood in medieval and early modern England', in *Reading the medieval in early modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 106-108 (p. 115).

¹²⁸ Emrys Jones, 'Stuart *Cymbeline*', *Essays in Criticism*, 11.1 (1961), pp. 84-99.

¹²⁹ Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: local reading and its discontents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 106-148.

¹³⁰ Floyd-Wilson, pp. 161-164; Andrew Escobedo, 'From Britannia to England: *Cymbeline* and the beginning of nations', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59.1 (2008), pp. 60-87 (p. 62).

¹³¹ John E. Curran, Jr., "'Royalty unlearned, honour untaught": British savages and historiographical change in *Cymbeline*', *Comparative Drama*, 31.2 (1997), pp. 277-303 (p. 277). Curran argues that *Cymbeline* replaces Galfridian historiography with a more humanist one. I argue that two historiographies co-exist in the play, producing interrelated and homeomorphic versions of the Wales landscape.

¹³² Roland J. Boling, 'Anglo-Welsh relations in *Cymbeline*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 51.1 (2000), pp. 33-66 (p. 35).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

cultural homogeneity into Wales, *Cymbeline* questions this top-down assimilation project. Homi Bhabha argued that literary explorations of the nation 'encounter the past as an anteriority that continually introduces an otherness or alterity within the present'.¹³⁴ Indeed, the Welsh past is hidden once again in the character of the wild man, who is not easily anglicised in the course of the play; I argue that Welsh wild men, representing 'otherness or alterity', return to the Anglo-Saxon court in *Cymbeline* to haunt and transform the judicial homogeneity of early modern nationhood.

Heather James has observed that '[f]or Shakespeare, as for many of his contemporaries, a nation must be defined not by a territorial attitude or a casually imported political theory but in terms of the laws, customs, and ethics established through its history.'¹³⁵ I wish to argue that the manner in which *Cymbeline* imagines the mountainous Welsh landscape manipulates the 'laws, customs and ethics' of the English court. Addressing the union of England and Scotland at his inaugural speech in 1603, James argued for the absolute integrity of his rule:

Do we not yet remember, that this Kingdome was diuided into seuen little Kingdomes, besides Wales? And is it not now the stronger by their vnion? [...] [W]hereby it is now become like a little World within it selfe, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirable strong pond or ditch, whereby all the former feares of this Nation are now quite cutt off[.] [...] What God hath conioyned then, let no man separate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my flocke: I hope therefore no man will be so unreasonable as to thinke that I am a Christian King under the Gospel, should be a Polygamist and husband to two wives; that I being the Head should have a diuided and monstrous body.¹³⁶

James alludes to his role as an Arcadian shepherd, a role that, as I demonstrate in my previous chapter, the Spenserians exploited and turned against him. The monarch highlights how Wales has been moulded into a peaceful 'little World.' The speech also implies that a unity between England and Scotland would purge the island of its loose and monstrously polygamous condition. Contrary to James' understanding of the nation, *Cymbeline* locates savagery and monstrosity not in the

¹³⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, 'DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation', in *Nation and narration*, ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 291-322 (p. 308).

¹³⁵ Heather James, *Shakespeare's Troy: drama, politics, and the translation of empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 152.

¹³⁶ *The political works of James I*, ed. by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. 271-272.

division of English and Scottish parliaments, but in the unity with Wales. Rather than in Scotland, it is in the ambivalent Welsh landscape where wilderness, in spite of previous homogenising legal acts, was still imagined to prevail. This is a territory where unruly wild men inhabit a green space which represents both the last site of ancient civilisation and an entirely foreign and barbaric country. The notion of who tames whom, or who introduces legal civility is, I argue, central to understanding the spatial relations which *Cymbeline* examines. Wales not only defies the stability brought about by the Act of Union, but also threatens to overturn England's own understanding of civility.

As in the previous plays, Wales is produced as a separate territory. The king himself admits the territorial limits of his power. He can guarantee the Roman ambassador's safety only until 'he have crossed the Severn' (III.v.17).¹³⁷ For Camden 'the whole country beyond the Severn' was Wales.¹³⁸ Although the Roman ambassador requests safe passage to Milford Haven, on the western coast of Pembrokeshire, he is only escorted to the boundary of England. It seems as if King Cymbeline himself, although he is referred to as the King of Britain throughout the play, is aware that the territory beyond the Severn is where his royal enforcement of the law is beyond application.¹³⁹ Earlier in the play, Posthumus described the chief attributes of the ancient Britons. Echoing Camden's description of the British as wild men, he boasts that

POSTHUMUS

Our countrymen
Are men more ordered than when Julius Caesar
Smiled at their lack of skill, but found their courage
Worthy his frowning at. Their discipline,
Now wing-led with their courage, will make known
To their approvers they are people such
That mend the world. (II.iv.20-26)

The introduction of Saxon discipline and law, Posthumus suggests, has tamed the ancient Britons and harnessed, or 'wing-led', their abundant physical strength for higher purposes. In reality, Cymbeline's lack of influence beyond the River Severn suggests that the remaining ancient Britons in Wales are still lingering in the

¹³⁷ William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, The Oxford Shakespeare, ed. by Roger Warren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹³⁸ Camden, p. 615.

¹³⁹ Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, pp. 134-135.

mountainous periphery beyond the Severn and that their discipline is all but 'wing-led'.

Not only is Wales separated from Cymbeline's realm but also, as a green space, it is noticeably more disordered. Before she sets off to Milford Haven, Innogen consults Pisano about her journey.

INNOGEN How far 'tis thither. If one of mean affairs
 May plod it in a week, why may not I
 Glide there in a day? (III.ii.50-53)

Garrett Sullivan has demonstrated that the British princess imagines Wales as a frictionless surface over which she can glide effortlessly.¹⁴⁰ She assumes a prerogative access to the landscape which one of 'meaner affairs' does not possess. In reality, however, Wales soon reveals its unmappable nature. Navigation through the south-east does not cause any problems, but as soon as she crosses the Severn, Innogen gets lost. Neither she nor Cloten ever reaches Milford Haven; indeed, the port is the only recognisable Welsh locale mentioned in the play. However, its physical absence makes way for a description of Wales which is barren and empty.

INNOGEN Milford,
 When from the mountain-top Pisanio showed thee,
 Thou wast within a ken.
 [...]
 Two beggars told me
 I could not miss my way. (III.vi.4-6, 8-9)

Innogen has learnt her lesson: her royal status is of no assistance for navigating through, let alone mastering the Welsh landscape. While the princess gets lost, two local beggars easily make sense of the Welsh geography. Throughout the play, I argue, the Cambrian landscape differs emphatically from the English landscape.¹⁴¹ Although Cymbeline is historically a British King, in Shakespeare's *mélange* of ancient, folkloric and early modern historiography, Cymbeline rules only over the

¹⁴⁰ Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., *The drama of landscape: land, property, and social relations on the early modern stage* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 128.

¹⁴¹ For a discussion on the problematic position of Wales in early modern cartography, see Huw Griffiths, 'The geographies of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 34.3 (2004), pp. 339-358 (pp. 342-344).

south-east. In effect, he is, as Simon Forman noted upon seeing the play in 1611, merely 'Cymbalin King of England'.¹⁴²

Shakespeare goes through great lengths to emphasise the topographical difference of Wales. The play describes a mountainous landscape akin to Camden's 'British Alps', which were linked to Welsh culture in the popular imagination. In Innogen's case, the landscape functions as a *locus* of resistance towards surveying and navigating the territory. But the topography is not the only Welsh feature which resisted English appropriation. The territory's inhabitants also reflect Welsh otherness and the limits of colonisation.

When the play's action moves to the region west of the Severn, Shakespeare introduces his audience to three Welsh wild men. On one level, Belarius, Guiderius and Arviragus echo the primitive but noble variant of the wild man.¹⁴³ The two princes and their foster father have turned their wild mountainous environment into a pastoral antithesis to England, offering an exemplary alternative to the English centre. Shakespeare draws on the iconography of the primitive, but culturally and morally superior wild man in order to criticise the corruption of courtly society.¹⁴⁴ Belarius argues that the hard and diligent life in the rugged Welsh mountains is more rewarding than all the wealth and flattery the English court has to offer.

BELARIUS

O, this life
Is nobler than attending for a check,
Richer than doing nothing for a bauble,
Prouder than rustling unpaid-for silk;
Such gain the cap of him that makes 'em fine,
Yet keeps his book uncrossed: no life to ours.
(III.iii.21-26)

Belarius' formulaic pastoral assertion not only makes a qualitative distinction between the court and the country, but also creates a qualitative national inflection between English corruption and Welsh innocence. Having escaped the injustices of the court, Belarius favours the unaccommodating Welsh landscape. Indeed, in Wales he creates a peripheral and alternative court. As Innogen remarks upon finding shelter in their cave:

¹⁴² Quoted in Roger Warren, 'Introduction', in *Cymbeline*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 1-82 (p. 4).

¹⁴³ Peggy Muñoz Simonds, *Myth, emblem, and music in Shakespeare's Cymbeline: an iconographic reconstruction* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992), pp. 136-169.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

INNOGEN (*aside*)

Great men
That had a court no bigger than this cave,
[...]
Could not outpeer these twain. (III.vi.79-84)

Imagining Wales by way of analogies with the court, Innogen concludes that the English court is merely superficially civilised whereas the nobility of Welsh wild men quite literally runs deeper than the surface. Unaware that she is facing her brothers, Innogen interprets Wales through a Galfridian historiography. She categorises the Welsh wild men as the noble ancestors of the island. Even Camden, although largely disagreeing with Geoffrey, still acknowledged that Wales is 'where the ancient Britons have yet their feat and abode'.¹⁴⁵ The Welsh landscape, *Cymbeline* suggests, is where original, deeply rooted and true nobility can be found.

Innogen is surprised by the nobility hidden beneath the outward savagery.

INNOGEN These are kind creatures. Gods, what lies I have heard!
Our courtiers say all's savage but at court;
Experience, O thou disprov'st report!
Th'imperious seas breeds monsters; for the dish
Poor tributary rivers as sweet fish. (IV.ii.32-36)

Not only does the play perceive Wales through Galfridian historiography, it also reverses James' notion of his monstrous body. It is not Scotland or Wales which breeds monstrosity, but the court, or the 'imperious seas.' The Welsh landscape, I argue, is figured as an alternative, primitive and ancient British realm which contrasts with corrupted Anglo-Saxon spaces. The return of the brothers to the court coincides with the death of the queen and the confession of her corruption. At the same time, the three wild men, two of whom were educated in Wales, are re-incorporated into the English court. *Cymbeline* ends with a re-establishment of ancient bloodlines, which are represented by the nobility and purity of Welsh culture. Just as the true heirs reclaim the throne, Wales changes the fabric of the court. Through his upbringing in a pure Welsh green space, the future king purges the court of corruption. Guiderius' Welshness becomes a retrospective guarantor of the legitimacy and nobility of the new reign which, as in *The Valiant Welshman*, offers a desirable alternative to England. But this is only one side of the Anglo-Welsh binary *Cymbeline* addresses; wild men, as we have seen, were more than

¹⁴⁵ Camden, p. 615.

emblems of nobility. They were also representatives of lawlessness and savagery. The inclusion of these traits into the court is more problematic to the understanding of nationhood and eventually undermines the achievements of the Act of Union and of Jacobean reunification.

In addition to their ancient nobility, the Welsh wild men also reflect their secluded, wild and rugged habitat. Although the former courtier Belarius should know better, he raises the wild boys within a pagan religious framework. The boys worship the goddess Natura and the sun and bury Cloten 'lay[ing] his head to th'east' (IV.ii.256). Like medieval wild men, the boys are cut off from civilisation, unable to read or write. Not only paganism, but also lawlessness and violence are never far away in the play's imagination of early modern Wales. Innogen is aware of the danger the Welsh landscape might harbour. 'Ho! Who's here? | If anything that's civil, speak; if savage, Take or lend' (III.vi.22-24), she tentatively asks before entering Belarius' cave. She offers up both sides of the spectrum, and indeed, *Cymbeline's* Wales is produced as both civil and savage. Not only are the princes noble wild men whose Wales offers a virtuous alternative to the corrupt court, but a sense of lawlessness and brutality lingers within their representation. Guiderius and Arviragus live not only beyond the influence of institutional religion, but also of the law, two factors central to a Calvinist understanding of a civil society. Although the brothers' fight against the Romans could be read as an heroic and warlike action intended to flatter and encourage the newly appointed Prince of Wales in the same manner as, I have suggested, was the intention of *The Valiant Welshman*, I argue that the princes' heroism in *Cymbeline* verges on the barbaric.¹⁴⁶ While Caradoc wages war to defend the island, the princes call on no dominant sense of nationality. Guiderius clarifies that they fight for the sake of fighting:

GUIDERIUS Nay, what hope
 Have we in hiding us? This way the Romans
 Must or for Britons slay us, or receive us
 For barbarous and unnatural revolts
 During their use, and slay us after. (IV.iii.3-7)

Such a 'might-as-well' attitude displays no particular affection for Cymbeline's cause, except, perhaps, that it is a means to escape their 'cell of ignorance' (III.iii.33).

¹⁴⁶ Cull, 'Contextualizing 1610', p. 139.

Furthermore, Guiderius, without so much as a moment of hesitation, decapitates Cloten. While Floyd-Wilson and Boling argue that the princes are tamed and reintroduced into courtly life, I wish to suggest that Guiderius' murderous act creates legal ripples which cannot be brushed aside so easily.¹⁴⁷ Guiderius argues that they are exempt from the law. Within the mountainous and wild Cambrian landscape, the brothers regulate law and order themselves: 'The law | Protects not us,' exclaims Guiderius and takes it into his own hands (IV.ii.126-127). He then remains uneasily unapologetic and stubborn about his murder. 'I cut off's heard,' Guiderius states in cold blood, '[a]nd am right glad he is not standing here' (V.iv.296-298). The image of cutting off a victim's head is particularly resonant of wild men. We have encountered such executions in *Mucedorus*, Speed's illustration of an ancient Briton and in historical accounts of Glyn Dŵr. The king has already condemned Guiderius for his crime before Belarius confesses the boys' true heritage. Intriguingly, the issue of Guiderius' disproportional and savage murder is not addressed again. It is as if English law silently assimilates Welsh barbarity.

Although the Acts of Union intended to civilise Wales and bring it in line with English law and order, *Cymbeline's* Wales, I argue, remains emphatically untamed. Its potential lawlessness and inaccessibility is incorporated into the English court, as Guiderius, stubborn and without empathy for his crime, will eventually succeed his father to the throne. At the end of the play, the noble but uneasily untamed Welsh have returned to rule over Britain. *Cymbeline*, I argue, unearths the problems behind the proposed reunification of Britain. If the English had a confident notion of law and civility, reunification and concomitant contamination taints and undermines those self-defining concepts. In the process of reunification, such as the one staged at the end of *Cymbeline*, spaces and identities merge, become hybrid and get lost.

Unlike Edgar in *King Lear*, Guiderius and Arviragus do not shed their inner wild man before inheriting the throne. Writing about the Act of Union in 1573, Humphrey Llwyd, as I have mentioned above, feared that Welshness would vanish under English assimilation.¹⁴⁸ In *Cymbeline*, however, the opposite is the case. The

¹⁴⁷ Floyd-Wilson, p. 167; Boling, p. 63; Jodi Mikalachki, 'The masculine romance of Roman Britain: *Cymbeline* and early modern English nationalism', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 46.3 (1995), pp. 301-322 (p. 302).

¹⁴⁸ Llwyd, p. 108.

play gestures towards the potential conflicts and dangers of hybridity which lie in the annexed, yet untamed peripheral provinces. British nationhood is built on feeble foundations. The Welsh landscape in *Cymbeline* cannot be weeded; instead, the English gardenscape becomes Welsh. If Simonds argues that the emblematic wild men in *Cymbeline* must be integrated into the court in order to support the royal project of a homogeneous Great Britain, I suggest that the wild man gestures not only towards the rugged and untamed nature of the Principality but also to the ongoing challenge it poses to the English centre.¹⁴⁹ If James described himself in 1603 as the symbolic head of a homogeneous British island, then, *Cymbeline* negotiates a British Jacobean body politic which must come to terms with a partly 'monstrous body', that is, the unmappable and untamed green spaces of its western periphery.

VI. CONCLUSION

FOR THE HONOR OF WALES: STABILISING WALES

The literary and dramatic texts discussed in this chapter explore the layered imagination of the Welsh landscape and address the ways in which these incompatible versions of empty space, filled as they are on the early modern stage with wild men, engage with and contest the spatiality of English and British nationhood. The mountainous and disorderly landscape of the Principality offered early modern theatres a cue for the negotiation of the relations between margin and centre, between untamed and tamed, and for the discussion of the differences between (and the identity of) Englishness and Welshness. On the one hand, the 'British *Alpes*' represented an example on the basis of which English nationhood should re-model itself. In this instance, the Cambrian mountains signify the elevated wisdom and intelligence ingrained in a nostalgic Galfridian topology of Wales. On the other hand, the mountains indicated seclusion from English civility. Wales was backward and pagan, offering Englishness a foil for defining itself as an orderly gardenscape adjacent to a disorderly, inaccessible and untamed territory. However, Welsh assimilation, which the 1536 Act of Union instituted, was rarely unproblematic. Dramatists observe how Englishness works between the binaries of civil and savage, and is contaminated and manipulated by the assimilation of Wales. In *Cymbeline* Britishness constitutes an uneasy blend of Welshness and

¹⁴⁹ Muñoz Simonds, p. 167.

Englishness. As was the case with England's north, the agricultural countryside and pastoral Arcadia, the theatrical imagination and production of the Welsh countryside reflects elements of multivocal and irreconcilable political debates. But, that is not to say that no literary attempts were made to stabilise the Principality's topological countryside.

In 1618, Ben Jonson's *For the Honor of Wales*, the antimasque to *Pleasure Reconciled with Virtue*, was performed to celebrate Charles' investiture as Prince of Wales. Three Welshmen attempt to persuade Charles to change the script of the masque proper so that Pleasure does not come out of Mount Atlas but out of a Welsh mountain. The masque's 'British *Alpes*' do not shelter dissent or rebellion; Wales is a garden from which James and his son harvest both pleasure and virtue. Although the petitioners do not succeed, the masque nevertheless imagines a tamed Welsh landscape.

GRIFFITH [A]nd remember the cyntre has always been fruitful of loyal hearts to your majesty, a very garden and seed plot of honest minds and men. What lights of learning hath Wales sent forth for your schools? What industrious students of your laws? What able ministers of your justice? Whence hath the crown in all times better servitors, more liberal of their lives and fortunes? [...] [Y]et it was never mutinous, an't please your majesty, but stout, valiant, courteous, hospitable, temperate, ingenious, capable of all good arts, most lovingly constant, charitable, great antiquaries, religious preservers of their gentry and genealogy, as they are zealous and knowing in religion.¹⁵⁰

Charles' Principality is presented to him as a stable, anglicised gardenscape; Wales is loyal, civilised and Protestant. The only untamed aspect that the masque makes concessions to, at least initially, is the Welsh language. As the masque begins, the speakers' English is replete with Welsh pronunciation and idioms. Griffith even refuses to speak English altogether. Just as the Act of Union strove to eradicate the Welsh language from official affairs, Welsh gradually disappears in the course of the masque. Griffith's final speech, aside from the initial 'cyntre', is uttered in a

¹⁵⁰ *For the Honor of Wales*, in *Ben Jonson: the complete masques*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (New Haven: University of Wales Press, 1975), pp. 277-291 (p. 291).

higher English discourse without any Welsh inflections.¹⁵¹ By the end of the antimasque, the Welsh landscape is made pleasurable and its language is tamed, just as the Act of Union decreed.

Jonson's attempt to stabilise the Welsh countryside was, however, in vain. Early modern theatres continued to problematise English identity in relation to Welsh green space. The next time Wales would be at the centre of a masque, its writer, John Milton, would, as I have shown, produce it as unequivocally belonging to the untamed margins and doggedly resisting assimilation to England. Welshness clashes with Englishness throughout early modern drama; the Welsh wild man offered early modern theatres a means to explore and comment on the achievements of the Act of Union and the nation's continuously contested relationship with the 'British *Alpes*'.

¹⁵¹ Patricia Fumerton, 'Homely accents: Ben Jonson speaking low', in *Renaissance culture and the everyday*, ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 92-111 (p. 103).

CONCLUSION

‘THIS AGE GIVES EXAMPLE TO THE CONTRARY’

In 1618, just before the Jacobean government published *The Book of Sports*, a minor aristocrat called Sir Thomas Beaumont hosted a masque in Coleorton, a small parish in northwest Leicestershire.¹ The masque was created to celebrate the marriage of Frances Devereux, sister of Robert Devereux, the third Earl of Essex, to Sir William Seymour. It was not a court masque, nor did Beaumont sponsor the masque to entertain the monarch at his estate. Instead, a privately assembled group of local friends and political allies came to celebrate the wedding with a dramatic entertainment written specifically for a performance in a private residence in the countryside. In the process, the attendant aristocrats witnessed the production of a contested green space. The masque foregrounds its *locus* in an obvious manner, representing rural Leicestershire in ways that run counter to the requirements of the *Book of Sports*. Rather than exclusively subjecting the entertainment’s rural scenery to the monarch’s ordering gaze, the Coleorton masque fashioned the Leicestershire and Staffordshire aristocrats present for the wedding of one of their number as the ‘organizing moral force’ of the English countryside.² At the same time, the masque somewhat surprisingly also negotiates the court’s view of rural England, as expressed in *The Book of Sports*. In spite of its country setting and audience, the tensions the masque invests into its representation of green space align closely with the contested production of homeomorphic green spaces in the public theatres in London.

The entertainment implicitly marginalises the Jacobean court by celebrating the union of two political allies who were both out of favour with the court and the king. The Devereux family, from nearby Staffordshire, fell from royal grace after

¹ Proposed authors of the masque, which offers no direct evidence for identifying its author(s), include Arthur Wilson, the Reverend Thomas Pestell and John Fletcher. See David Norbrook, ‘The reformation of the masque’, in *The court masque*, ed. by David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 91-110 (p. 109n); Philip J. Finkelpearl, ‘The authorship of the anonymous Coleorton masque of 1618’, *Notes and Queries*, 40 (1993), pp. 224-226 (p. 225); Philip J. Finkelpearl, *Court and country politics in the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 38n.

² Karen L. Middaugh, ‘“Virtues Sphear”: court vs. country in the 1618 masque at Coleorton’, in *Subjects on the world’s stage: essays on British literature of the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. by David G. Allen and Robert A. White (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995), pp. 280-294 (p. 280).

the Essex Rebellion. In 1601, Devereux's father, the second Earl of Essex, was executed in the wake of his failed *coup d'état* against Queen Elizabeth's reign.³ Moreover, the third Earl of Essex had his own personal reasons to resent the court. In 1613, James annulled Essex's marriage with Frances Howard after she had started an affair with Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, a favourite of the king at the time. In the wake of what developed into a public scandal, James facilitated Howards' divorce claims by forcing Essex to confess publicly to impotence and making him vulnerable to the mockery and ribald commentary of the court.⁴ In addition to his disputes with the bride's family, James had also estranged the groom's family. In 1610 the monarch prohibited Seymour's first marriage to Arabella Stuart. The bride was a great-great-granddaughter of Henry VII and fourth in line to the throne after Elizabeth's death. As a descendant of Queen Mary I, Seymour was also amongst the candidates to inherit the monarchy. Both bride and groom were potential contenders to the throne and James feared that their union would undermine the legitimacy of his Stuart dynasty. In spite of the royal proscription, the couple married in secret and James imprisoned the bride in the Tower until she died in 1615.⁵

The other significant aristocrat in the audience for the wedding masque was Henry Hastings, the fifth Earl of Huntingdon. Huntingdon was patron to the playwright John Fletcher and his seat was at nearby Ashby-de-la-Zouche. Throughout his career, Huntingdon spent as little time as possible at court, believing in the superiority of country life over the court's artifice.⁶ Assessing their affiliations and their tendencies to intermarry, Philip Finkelpearl argues that the aristocrats attending the Coleorton masque were a homogeneous and closely-knit circle; they were loyal 'to a certain place outside London with a corresponding degree of alienation from the court'.⁷

The Coleorton masque offers a synthesis of the theatrical production of contested green space that I have discussed in the course of the four chapters of this thesis. The entertainment can in fact be read as a deliberate response to *The*

³ Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and late Elizabethan political culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 27-66.

⁴ Vernon F. Snow, *Essex the rebel: the life of Robert Devereux, the third Earl of Essex* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), pp. 49-70.

⁵ Philip J. Finkelpearl, "'The fairies' farewell": the masque at Coleorton (1618)', *Review of English Studies*, 46 (1995), pp. 33-351 (p. 335).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Book of Sports. The masque maps its coterie's attitudes to religion, consumption, dissent and contamination by way of its dramatic imagining of the green space of rural Leicestershire. It stages a homeomorphic (counter-)space designed overtly to challenge the courtly and centrally authorised qualities James had sought to graft onto the countryside after his journey through Lancashire in 1617. The masque inverts the court's vision of pastoral space into a homeomorphic oppositional space in the margins, reflecting its coterie audience's alienation from the Jacobean court. At the same time, in certain implicit ways, the masque also affirms the court's centralising vision of the countryside. The representation of the countryside in the masque is layered with contradictory versions of space which negotiate irreconcilable sets of meaning; it produces an inherently contested theatrical landscape which works in the space between the cultural and political binaries of loyalty and of opposition to the court. The Coleorton masque stages English green space in a manner that simultaneously promotes and implicitly inverts the court's idealised vision of the English countryside. It thus offers a succinct case study for my overall argument in this thesis, namely that the representation of green space in early modern dramatic culture produced contested spatial constructs designed simultaneously to contain and to explore certain unsettled cultural and political beliefs circulating in early modern English culture.

The entertainment's antimasque introduces a set of folkloric personifications who populate rural Leicestershire. 'Puck, the country spirit' and 'Bob, the buttery spirit' disapprove of the degree to which both the popularity of court fashions and an increase in Puritanism have obliterated country customs.⁸

BOB True, Puck, housekeeping is a rag of Rome – 'tis abolished. All
 good fellowship, called feasting, is turned to a dish of Bibles.
 The country mirth and pastime, that's Pauncius Pilate, dead
 and buried[.]⁹

Like *The Book of Sports*, the masque makes Puritans responsible for the disappearance of rural customs, pastimes and hospitality. However, the masque suggests that a second cause has also triggered rural decline, one for which it blames London and the Jacobean court. Bob observes that 'hard arable land shall

⁸ 'The Coleorton masque', in *Court masques: Jacobean and Caroline entertainments, 1605-1640*, ed. by David Lindley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 126-135 (p. 126).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

be converted into loose gowns, and the meadows fly up in petticoats.’¹⁰ Karen Middaugh explains that the ‘nobility created by the king cannot afford to be hospitable to the guests of dependents because their resources are eaten up by the demands of life at court.’¹¹ Absentee landlords, enclosure and court fashions dominate the countryside and destroy local agricultural customs, gradually transforming the country into something which resembles the court. The spirits imply that a *nouveau riche*, court-centred and upwardly mobile society has precipitated the deterioration of the social fabric and values of rural England. Commenting on the increasingly courtly nature of the English countryside, Puck wryly notes that ‘every hind is grown a gentleman’.¹²

Rural decline is also symbolised by the behaviour of the indigenous fairies and spirits populating Leicestershire’s green space. The local white and blue fairies have fled ‘northward ho’ due to the decline of rural traditions which had previously defined them.¹³ Bob and Puck have stayed behind, however, agreeing that Huntingdon, Essex, and the Beaumont family deserve support as the last remaining representatives of the old guard of country gentlemen who resist the decline of traditional country values. As a response, Puck introduces a new breed of black fairies that will replace the blue and white ones and inhabit Coleorton’s green space in the future. Their blackness reflects the local mining economy from which the Beaumont family derives its wealth: they are ‘black’ because they are covered in coal dust. In spite of rural decay, the antimasque provides the aristocrats at Coleorton, a community deeply rooted in a traditional and oppositional green space, with a flattering and idealised view of its adjoining natural environment. The black fairies’ dance celebrates Beaumont’s coalmines which guarantee the survival of Coleorton’s parochial economy, its financial autonomy and, by implication, the perpetuation of local customs, pastimes and hospitality. Coleorton’s green space is represented in the masque as the last remaining corner of rural England unpolluted by courtly corruption; the remaining two hobgoblins conclude that ‘[t]his house must ever be my quarter’.¹⁴

After the antimasque, the masque proper works to distance Coleorton’s green space from James’ urban court. Middaugh demonstrates how court masques

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Middaugh, pp. 282-283.

¹² ‘The Coleorton masque’, p. 127.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 128.

regularly equate Jove, the Roman god of the sky and thunder, with James I, as was the case in Ben Jonson's *Hymenaei* (1606) which celebrated Essex's ill-fated marriage to Frances Howard.¹⁵ After the black fairies have completed their dance, Favonius, Jove's messenger, announces that the attendant aristocrats live in Jove's 'virtues Sphear', or, in other words, that rural Coleorton lies within the reach of the court.¹⁶ Yet, the first dance by attendant women strives to disqualify Jove's assertion. Favonius ridicules the arrival of six female masquers: 'Ha! How now! Phuh! What have we here? A metamorphosis! Men transformed to women! This age gives example to the contrary.'¹⁷ By staging female rather than male virtue, the masque creates a feminocentric space, an 'all-female Arcadia' which, as Favonius states is 'contrary', that is, it emphatically endeavours to cut its ties from the court's sphere and its misogynist mockery.¹⁸ Crucially, the female dancers call not for equality but for independence. 'Alas, would it might be | Women could live and lie with one another', they exclaim.¹⁹ Gordon McMullan argues that by emphasising female identity and virtue, the masque hearkens back to Queen Elizabeth, extending distinctly oppositional Spenserian politics into the rural Leicestershire setting.²⁰ Towards the end of the masque, a song encourages the bride to '[l]ive with heaven, to make thy peace | By thy virtues friends increase, | [...] God dwells where he's honoured most.'²¹ The final song provocatively implies that rural Coleorton embodies a deeper and more sincere practice of Protestant piety than does the court. Furthermore, the anti-Jacobean space that is being delineated would, the entertainment implies, expand in size both through Seymour's offspring and by way of new allegiances and political connections. The masque imagines rural Coleorton as an alternative, anti-courtly and expanding Spenserian sphere, situated in rural Leicestershire and under the guardianship of its resident aristocrats.

¹⁵ Midaugh, p. 285.

¹⁶ 'The Coleorton masque', p. 130.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Finkelpearl, 'The fairies' farewell', p. 343. See also Sophie Tomlinson, *Women on stage in Stuart drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 43-47.

¹⁹ 'The Coleorton masque', p. 132.

²⁰ Gordon McMullan, *The politics of unease in the plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), p. 32. See also Philip J. Finkelpearl, 'John Fletcher as Spenserian playwright: *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *The Island Princess*', *Studies in English Literature*, 27.2 (1987), pp. 285-302.

²¹ 'The Coleorton masque', p. 135.

So far, I have suggested that the Coleorton masque stages an oppositional green (counter-)space in England's rural margins. It emphasises idealised rural values over the debauchery of the court which, by way of 'loose gowns' and 'petticoats', are threatening to replace traditional agricultural customs. However, the masque's negotiation of the English countryside creates more than just a holistic anti-courtly, propagandistic space; it produces a contested green space which balances seemingly irreconcilable tensions, that is, it negotiates the complicated simultaneous loyalty and opposition that the local country-based aristocracy expresses to Jacobean kingship. The masque's final song encourages the Seymours not only to expand their oppositional rural sphere, but it also alludes to rural Leicestershire's propensity towards revolt and violence. Iris' song warns Jove – and by implication James – of the consequences should he ever attempt to override Coleorton's independent Spenserian Arcadia.

Juno hath her will of Jove.
Each of you that list to prove
Shall easy conquest find.²²

Not unlike the dramatic reinvention of the northern greenwood in Munday's and Chettle's Robin Hood plays, the masque imagines Coleorton's idealised green space as a haven of official Protestantism, emphatically rejecting any Catholic opposition. At the same time, the masques' layered imagining of green space also harbours potential violence and expansion, resembling Robin Hood's alternative Catholic greenwood as represented in the oral ballads. The masque's sedimented space simultaneously promotes and interrogates the court's vision of green space. Rural Leicestershire is at once loyally Protestant and violently oppositional. The masque's production of green space rehearses arguments akin to those of the Robin Hood tradition of the 1590s, which expanded but also limited the court's influence over a distant Catholic countryside. In a similar fashion, the Coleorton masque both distances the aristocrats' ideal green space from the court's political sphere, but simultaneously celebrates its Protestant and anti-Puritan ideals as discussed in *The Book of Sports*.

Iris' allusion to the potential 'conquest' of a monarch is all the more evocative since some of the major assembly places of the 1607 Midlands Revolt were within a short distance of Coleorton, for example in Leicester and Cotesbach.

²² Ibid., p. 132.

Furthermore, the assembled aristocrats were not entirely unsympathetic to the rebels' resistance to agricultural innovation. Although Huntingdon was appointed to put down the revolt as Lord Lieutenant of Leicestershire, as discussed in Chapter Two, he was hardly a proto-capitalist innovator or someone who explicitly encouraged agricultural advance or enclosure practices. The Coleorton masque draws on agricultural themes to emphasise the countryside's independence from London's marketplace. Even if meadows and arable land are left empty and go to waste because of absentee landlords or because rural produce is traded in for expensive fashion, the masque describes Coleorton's green space as a functioning parochial and feudal economy whose coalmines finance endangered rural values and provide the local population with a stable income. Beaumont embraced new investments in coal, abandoning his traditional aristocratic base in agriculture.²³ Even while praising Coleorton's rural values, then, the masque refers to a modern and innovative mode of income to sustain its celebration of traditional green space. Thus, paradoxically, the agricultural green space represented by the masque simultaneously evokes both a parochial and a proto-capitalist space. This is a fundamentally pragmatic imagining of the countryside and would have been both desired and rejected by anti-courtly audiences in favour of local independence and by any sympathisers with the late rebellion who supported a parochial and agrarian economy. The masque parallels the production of agricultural green space on the early modern professional stage. By way of the simultaneous staging of dissonant versions of green space, playwrights, as I demonstrate in Chapter Two, explore conflicting positions and alternatives to the advancement of agricultural capitalism. In a similar manner, the Coleorton masque produces a contested agricultural green space which simultaneously explores the tensions, the possibilities and the limits of agricultural advance and parochial feudalism in the English countryside. By way of staging an agricultural green space, the masque seems to propose somewhat pragmatically that rural and parochial traditions and values can be maintained in the light of economic adversity only if certain elements of agrarian innovation are incorporated into local economic structures.

Throughout the entertainment, local rural fairies symbolise traditional country values, while heroic mythological women hearken back to Elizabethan England. Together, they embody Coleorton's particular understanding of localism.

²³ Middaugh, p. 283.

Like the Arcadian green spaces produced by Spenserian poets and playwrights, the masque imagines rural Coleorton as a nostalgic landscape of Arcadian dimensions. Rural Leicestershire represents an all-female, Spenserian Arcadian ideal in the geographic margins from where the oppositional aristocrats can safely satirise the Jacobean court. However, as I argue was the case in professional drama's production of Welsh green space, the masque also addresses the problems of contamination and spatial hybridity. Time and again, the masque emphasises how the presence of the court modifies Leicestershire's rural ideal; 'loose gowns', 'petticoats' and coalmines, the spirits maintain, have become ineradicably stubborn non-traditional features in the Leicestershire countryside. Most prominently, however, Jove's messenger Favonius insists obstinately that male dancers replace the female dancers until, in the end, Iris agrees to a compromise that both men and women perform the final dance together. The final dance not only symbolises the reconciliation between the sexes, but also stages a hybrid between Jove's and Iris' ideal versions of green space. Neither Jove nor Iris fully gets their way. As a consequence, Coleorton is never quite as detached and independent from the court as the attendant courtiers would desire. Jove's influence over the politics of Coleorton endures in spite of the masque's emphatic attempts to separate the countryside from the court. Although the plot works to reject the court's attempts to assimilate Coleorton into its 'Sphear', in the end the entertainment nevertheless fills rural Coleorton with courtly and non-traditional signifiers which stubbornly endure within the masque's depiction of the local aristocrats' idealised green space. In effect, the Coleorton masque produces a sedimented space which merges the irreconcilable ideals and politics of court and country and, as a consequence, produces a contested green space. The court cannot impose itself fully on the countryside; yet, the fantasy of rural, economic and geographical independence remains contaminated throughout the entertainment because of the continuous modifications by Jove's messenger Favonius. Ominously, the white and blue fairies, the traditional hobgoblins symbolising pure and traditional country values, have fled and, with the exception of Bob and Puck, do not plan to return any time soon.

The Coleorton masque imagines a green (counter-)space, a homeomorphic inversion of the Stuarts' pastoral vision. The masque distances rural Leicestershire from the court, depicting an independent parochial economy whose potential

violence cannot be easily contained. The masque positions the countryside in the margins of the Jacobean nation, where it represents an alternative to the court. In all these aspects, the masque's imagining of green space challenges and inverts elements of the countryside as disseminated in *The Book of Sports*. At the same time, the masque also imagines a space that reflects the politics of the court. Rural Leicestershire is represented as Protestant, centralised, contained within James' 'Sphear' and economically subservient to the court. The masque, I argue, stages a contested green space that shares its basic sedimented structure with the production of green space we have seen in public theatre plays. In spite of its anti-courtly audience and rural setting, a hegemonic vision of the English countryside endures in the masques' representation of green space. The masque's production of green space balances political tensions; it both expands and limits Coleorton's opposition to the court. The homeomorphic countryside works in between the binaries of opposition and loyalty, negotiating a pragmatic *realpolitik* rather than simply mirroring either the local audiences' or the court's ideological considerations. The masque enables the local aristocrats to fantasise about an independent Arcadian space, but nevertheless situates their Spenserian counter-space within the court's 'Sphear' and under the influence of the monarch. Resembling the production of green space on the early modern stage in London, the masque's representation of the countryside avoids a simplified and holistic cultural meaning. Instead, as was the case on the professional stage, the entertainment's imagining of rural England is layered with conflicting sets of meaning which express competition and negotiation over the local aristocrats' politics of loyalty and dissent.

The Coleorton masque, thus produces a contested rural space with multiple, even irreconcilable, socio-political connections and resonances which negotiate the political tensions between loyalty and dissent, of agricultural capitalism and parochialism, and of spatial purity and hybridity. Despite its critical, anti-courtly audience, the masque produces a topology of green space which is awkwardly unstable and malleable. It consolidates irreconcilable layers of meaning simultaneously within a single spatial representation. Similarly, while no particular early modern play runs outspokenly counter to the court's vision of rural England, early modern drama's collective production of green space expresses unease and discomfort with elements of Elizabethan and Jacobean

political and cultural discourse. Overall, this thesis has provided new insight into the politics of staging green space in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century drama. I have argued that, taken together, early modern theatres staged irreconcilably layered understandings of green space. These contested theatrical representations of green space addressed different outcomes for policies that were in negotiation throughout the period. In the introduction to this thesis, I outlined the manner in which travellers and chorographers described vast parts of the countryside as empty. The main body of the thesis explored the ways in which early modern drama filled these supposedly empty spaces with folkloric, mythical and acentric characters and personifications who pursue their own, at times subversive desires on *lignes d'erre*. Each chapter has been concerned with an element of contemporary discourse and the complex ways in which theatrical representations of green space interrogated specific elements of cultural unease related to religion, economics, dissent and nationhood. The theatrical countryside provided early modern playwrights with an imaginary empty space which they overwrote with their own versions of the countryside. Collectively, early modern drama imagined green spaces which were layered with contradictory meanings; together they negotiate the tensions and competing positions within Elizabethan and Jacobean socio-political debates.

The manner in which early modern drama filled the supposedly empty green space is crucial to understanding the extent to which theatres addressed unresolved political debates. In his secluded northern greenwood, Robin Hood explores the court's uneasy relationship with the distant, even Catholic northern countryside. Robin Hood plays and ballads negotiate the potential subversion simmering in the sedimented layers which constitute the theatrical representation of the northern post-Reformation countryside. Green spaces were gendered as female on the early modern stage, hearkening back to mother-earth mythologies, in order to evaluate cultural shifts subjecting agricultural green space to either financial exploitation, or locally nourishing parochialism. Satyrs expressed the geography of loyalty and of dissent. Their utopian green space was simultaneously expanded on stage so as to include all of England and moved sideways into the margins where dramatists opposed Jacobean policies. Lastly, the dramatic presence of wild men addressed the spatiality of nationhood, and England's supposed prerogative and its difficulty to tame a seemingly wild, inaccessible and

fundamentally hybrid Welsh landscape. The topology of early modern drama's green space is layered with multiple sets of synchronous meanings which connect and respond differently to contemporary discursive tensions. The dramatic representation of green space cannot be reduced to a single signification. Because the dramatic imagining of green space is interlaced with unsettled discourses, beliefs and practices, tensions and ambivalences of historical change, playwrights collectively invest multivocal perspectives into the representation of green space on the early modern stage.

Previous criticism of early modern drama's representation of green space has tended to reduce its meanings to one single signification, commonly its utopian or courtly features. By contrast, I have argued that the staging of natural landscapes on the early modern stage negotiated irreconcilable systems of symbolic representation existing within it simultaneously and antagonistically. Theatrical green spaces explored and tested a variety of political options and outcomes. Early modern drama participated in an animated debate about the homogeneous or heterogeneous nature of the countryside. The plays addressed in this thesis explore the tension between homogenising English green space under a hegemonic vision and the rural landscape's persistent and stubbornly heterogeneous dimensions – that is, the untraceable *lignes d'erre* on which theatrical folkloric personifications move through green space in pursuit of disruptive desires. The Coleorton masque produces a green space which is organised both by local aristocrats critical of the court and by the interventions of Jove or, by implication, James I. For theatregoers in London and aristocrats in Leicestershire, there was no single unified space that constituted 'the countryside'; instead, theatres were agents in the circulation of numerous individual imaginings of contested green space in the early modern consciousness that collectively formed the layered production of a contested English countryside. This thesis has offered a study of the contradictory ways in which playwrights overwrote the countryside with subjective sets of meaning. Through an examination of the theatrical representation of selected rural *loci* in a variety of socio-political contexts, I have argued that the countryside staged in early modern theatres was an unstable construct which represented, contested and inverted elements of multivocal cultural and unstable political discourse. The theatres' production of

the countryside reveals some of the key social and cultural tensions of Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

While we might think of early modern drama as a quintessentially urban genre, then, this thesis has revealed its profound engagement with the English countryside, and has argued for the important role Elizabethan and Jacobean theatres played in shaping the multivocal social and political meanings of English green space. This thesis expresses the belief that it is important for studies of early modern drama to recognise the role topological constellations and multiple systems of meaning played in structuring individual and collective productions of green space. I believe it is crucial for future work in this field to acknowledge the layered politics of green space on the early modern stage – that theatrical representations of green space were constantly modified and overwritten on the early modern stage, and, therefore, cannot be reduced to a single meaning. Rather, the collective production of green space in early modern drama interacted with and merged ideological positions on religion, consumption, dissent and nationhood. On the early modern stage, the production of contested green space was the result of multivocal and irreconcilable layers which playwrights have written onto their representations of the countryside. Consequently, in the collective output of early modern drama, green space was contested space: it was the product of the political tensions, the unsettled cultural ideologies and the ambivalences about historical change through which dramatists moulded and fashioned their theatrical versions of rural England.

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- , *A Warning for all Murderers. A most rare, strange, and wonderfull accident, which by Gods just judgement was brought to passe, not farre from Rithin in Wales, and showne upon three most wicked persons, who had secretly and cunningly murdered a young Gentleman named David Williams, that by no means it could be knowne, and how in the end it was revenged by a childe of five yeeres old, which was in his Mothers wombe, and unborne when the deed was done. To the tune of, Wigmores Galliard* (London: for Henry Gosson dwelling upon London Bridge, neere the Gate, [1601-1640]), *STC* 215921
- , *A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus the Kings sonne of Valentia, and Amadine the Kinges daughter of Aragon. With the merry conceites of Mouse. Amplified with new additions, as it was acted before the Kings Maiestie at White-hall on Shroue-sunday night. By his Highnes Seruant vsually Playing at the Globe. Very delicable and full of conceited [sic] mirth* (London: [Printed by William White] for William Iones, dwelling neare Holborne Conduite at the signe of the Gunne, 1610), *STC* 18232
- , *A Pleasant Commodie, Called Looke about you As it was lately played by the right honourable the Lord High Admirall his seruants* (London:

Printed [by Edward Allde] for William Ferbrand, and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Crowne neere Guild-hall gate, 1600), *STC* 16799

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